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them, but on the contrary have greatly subserved their national interest, if the Europeans had not afterwards come into the country in such great numbers, and multiplied so rapidly as they did. For their neutral position would greatly have favoured their increase, while the numbers of the other Indian nations would have been reduced by the wars in which they were continually engaged. But unfortunately for them, it happened, that the Europeans successively invaded the country which they occupied and now forms what are called the middle states, and as they advanced from the Atlantic into the interior, drove before them the Lenape and their allies, and obtained possession of their lands; while the Iroquois, who happened to be placed in the neighbourhood of Canada, between the French and English, who were frequently at war with each other, had an enemy, it is true, in the French nation, but had strong protectors in the English, who considered them as a check upon their enemies, and, being the most numerous people, were best able to afford them protection; thus they were suffered to increase and become powerful, while the Lenape, having no friend near them, the French being then at too great a distance, were entirely at the mercy of their English neighbours, who, advancing fast on their lands, gradually dispersed them, and other causes concurring, produced at last their almost entire destruction. Among those causes the treacherous conduct of the Five Nations may be considered as the principal one.

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Before that strange metamorphosis took place, of a great and powerful nation being transformed into a band of defenceless women, the Iroquois had never been permitted to visit the Lenape, even when they were at peace with each other. Whenever a Mengwe appeared in their country, he was hunted down as a beast of prey, and it was lawful for every one to destroy him. But now, the woman could not, consistently with her new station and her engagements, make use of destructive

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819

NM7 Delaware NM7

Iroquois NM9

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weapons, and she was bound to abstain from all violence against the human species. Her late enemies, therefore, found no difficulty in travelling, under various pretences, through her country, and those of her allies, and leaving here and there a few of their people to remain among them as long as they pleased, for the purpose, as they said, of keeping up a good understanding, and assisting them in the preservation of the general peace. But while they were amusing the Lenape with flattering language, they were concerting measures to disturb their quiet by involving them in difficulties with the neighbouring nations. I shall relate one among many instances of a similar conduct. They once sent their men into the Cherokee country, who were instructed secretly to kill one of that nation, and to leave a war club near the person murdered, which had been purposely made after the manner and in the shape of those of the Delawares. Now leaving a war club in an Indian country, is considered by those nations as a formal challenge or declaration of war. The Cherokees, deceived by appearances, and believing that their grandfather the Lenape had committed the murder, collected a large party to go into their country and take their revenge. Meanwhile, the Iroquois sent a messenger to the Lenape, to inform them of the approach of an enemy, who, they had learned from their hunters, was coming towards their settlement, and to advise them to send a number of their men immediately to a certain place, where they would be met by a large body of the Five Nations, who would take the lead, march in front, and fight their battles, so that they would have little else to do than to look on, and see how well their friends fought for them. The Lenape, being in no wise prepared to meet a powerful foe, assembled in haste a few of their men, and repaired to the place of rendezvous, where they were disappointed by not meeting any of their pretended protectors. The enemy, however, was close upon them; the Lenape fought with great

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courage, but were overpowered by an immense superiority of numbers, and defeated with considerable loss. Now the Iroquois made their appearance, and instead of attacking or pursuing the Cherokees, loaded the Delawares with reproaches, for their temerity, as they called it, in having dared, being women, to take the lead in attacking men. They told them that the Five Nations being their superiors, they ought to have waited for them before they attacked the Cherokees, that then their protectors would have fought and defeated them, but that as they had thought proper to act by themselves, they had received the punishment justly due to their presumption.

It was thus that the Five Nations rewarded the confidence that the Delawares had placed in them. Their treachery was not, however, suspected for a long time; but it was at last discovered; it was even found out that in this last engagement, a number of the Iroquois had joined in fight against them with their enemies. The Lenape then determined to unite their forces, and by one great effort to destroy entirely that perfidious nation. This, they say, they might easily have done, as they were then yet as numerous as the grasshoppers at particular seasons, and as destructive to their enemies as these insects are to the fruits of the earth; while they described the Mengwo as a number of croaking frogs in a pond, which make a great noise when all is quiet, but at the first approach of danger, nay, at the very rustling of a leaf, immediately plunge into the water and are silent.

But their attention was now diverted by other scenes. The whites were again landing in great numbers on their coast, in the east and south, and this spectacle once more engaged all the capacity of their minds. They were lost in admiration at what they saw, and were consulting and deliberating together on what they should do. The Five Nations, who lived out of the reach of all danger, never-

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theless also came; but bent on their own interest, while they were instigating the other nations to fall upon the new comers, or drive them off from their shores, by which they caused useless hostilities, in which they did not appear to participate, they were insinuating themselves into the favour of the powerful strangers, professing great friendship for them, persuading them that they were superior to the other Indian nations, that they had controul over them all, and would chastise those who should disturb their peace.

William Penn came, with his train of pacific followers. Never will the Delawares forget their older brother Miquon, as they affectionately and respectfully call him. From his first arrival in their country, a friendship was formed between them which was to last as long as the sun should shine, and the rivers flow with water. That friendship would undoubtedly have continued to the end of time, had their good brother always remained among them, but in his absence, mischievous people, say they, got into power, who, not content with the land which had been given to them, contrived to get all that they wanted; and when the Lenape looked round for the friends of their brother Miquon, to hear their just complaints, and redress their wrongs, they could not discover them, and had the misfortune to see their greatest enemies the Mengwe, brought on for the purpose of shutting their mouths, and compelling them to submit to the injustice done them.

They cannot conceive how the English could turn from the people by whom they had been so kindly received and welcomed with open arms; from those who had permitted them to sit down upon their lands in peace, and without fear of being molested by them; who had taken delight in supplying all their wants,* and who were hap-

* Mr. Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, relates that some time after the establishment of William Penn's government, the In-

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py in smoking the pipe of friendship with them at one and the same fire; how they could not only see them degraded and injured by a base and perfidious nation, but join with that nation in sinking them still lower. For to the countenance of the English, they say, is entirely owing the great preponderance which the Iroquois at last attained: they complain that the English did support that enemy against them, that they even sanctioned their insolence, by telling them to make use of their authority as men, and bring these women (the Lenape) to their senses. That they were even insulted and treated in a degrading manner, in treaties to which the English were parties, and particularly in that which took place at Easton in Pennsylvania, in July 1742, when the Six Nations were publicly called on to compel the Delawares to give up the land taken from them by the long day's walk. But for these repeated outrages, they would not have taken part with the French in the memorable war of 1755. Nor, perhaps, would they have done so, had not they been seduced into the measure by the perfidious Iroquois. At the commencement of that war, they brought the war belt with a piece of tobacco to the Delawares, and told them: "Remember that the English have unjustly deprived you of much of your land, which they took from

[erratum. See cat. 116 p. 248. -Analyst]

dians used to supply the family of one John Chapman, whose descendants still reside in Bucks County, with all kinds of provisions, and mentions an affecting instance of their kindness to that family. Abraham and John Chapman, twin children about nine or ten years old, going out one evening to seek their cattle, met an Indian in the woods, who told them to go back, else they would be lost. They took his advice and went back, but it was night before they got home, where they found the Indian, who had repaired thither out of anxiety for them. And their parents, about that time, going to the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, and leaving a young family at home, the Indians came every day to see whether any thing was amiss among them. Such (says Proud) in many instances was the kind treatment of the Aborigines of this country to the English, in their first and early settlement. Proud's Hist. vol. I. p. 223, 224.

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"you by force. Your cause is just; therefore smoke of
 "this tobacco, and arise; join with us our fathers the
 "French, and take your revenge. You are women, it
 "is true, but we will shorten your petticoats, and though
 "you may appear by your dress to be women, yet by
 "your conduct and language you will convince your
 "enemies that you are determined not tamely to suffer
 "the wrongs and injuries inflicted upon you."

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Yielding to these solicitations, the Delawares and their
 connexions took up arms against the English in favour
 of the French, and committed many hostilities, in which
 the Iroquois appeared to take no part. Sir William
 Johnson requested them to use their ascendancy and to
 persuade the hostile Indians to lay down the hatchet,
 instead of which, instead of conforming to the ancient
 custom of Indian nations, which was simply to take the
 war hatchet back from those to whom they had given it,
 they fell on a sudden on the unsuspecting Lenape, killed
 their cattle, and destroyed their town on the Susquehan-
 nah, and having taken a number of them prisoners, car-
 ried them to Sir William Johnson, who confined and put
 them in irons. This cruel act of treachery, the Dela-
 wares say, they will never forget nor forgive.

Thus the Lenape, whose principal settlements were
 then on the frontier of Pennsylvania, took part with the
 French, and acted hostilely against the English during
 the whole of the war of 1755. The animosity which
 mutual hostilities produced between them and the white
 settlers concurred, no doubt, with other causes, in produ-
 cing the murder of the Conestogo Indians, which took
 place at the close of that war, in December 1763, and is
 feelingly related by Loskiel, Part I. ch. 14 and 15.

The revolutionary war put an end to the exorbitant
 power of the Iroquois. They were, indeed, still support-
 ed by the British government, but the Americans were
 now the strongest party, and of course against them.
 They endeavoured to persuade the other Indian nations

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to join them, but their expectations were deceived. At a meeting which took place at Pittsburg in 1775, for the express purpose of deliberating on the part which it became Indians to take in the disturbances which had arisen between the King of Great Britain and his subjects, Capt. White Eyes, a sensible and very spirited warrior of the Lenape, boldly declared to a select body of the Senecas, that his Indians would never join any nation or power, for the purpose of destroying a people who were born on the same soil with them. That the Americans were his friends and brothers, and that no nation should dictate to him what part he should take in the existing war. Anticipating the measure which the American Congress took in the succeeding year, he declared *himself*,* in behalf of his nation, free and independent of the Iroquois; they had pretended that they had conquered him, they had made a woman of him and dressed him in woman's apparel, but now he was again a man, he stood before them as a man, and with the weapons of a man he would assert his claim to all yonder country, pointing to the land on the west side of the Allegheny river; for to him it belonged, and not to the Six Nations, who falsely asserted that they had acquired it by conquest. In the year 1778 or 1779, the Lenape bravely asserted their national independence by joining Col. Brodhead's troops in an expedition against the Senecas. If they did not do as much in that war as might have been expected of them, and took only a partial revenge, it was owing to the death of their brave chief White Eyes, who died of the small pox at Pittsburg, I think, in the year 1780. He was a christian in his heart, but did not live to make a public profession of our

* Indian chiefs in their public speeches, always speak on behalf of their nation in the singular number and in the first person, considering themselves, in a manner, as its representatives.

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religion, though it is well known that he persuaded many Indians to embrace it.*

Although the Lenape acted independently in the war of 1755, and made a formal declaration of their independence at the beginning of the revolutionary war, yet the Six Nations persevered in their pretensions, and still affected to consider them as women. Finding, however, that this obsolete claim was no longer acknowledged, and that it was useless to insist upon it any longer, they came forward of their own accord, about the time of Wayne's treaty, and formally declared that the Lenape and their allies were no longer women, but MEN.

The Delawares and Mohicans agree in saying, that from the time of the fatal treaty in which they were persuaded to assimilate themselves to women; and, indeed, ever since the Europeans first came into the country, the conduct of the Iroquois was treacherous and perfidious in the extreme. That it was their constant practice to sally out secretly and commit depredations on the neighbouring nations, with intent to involve them in wars with each other. That they would also commit murders on the frontier settlers, from Virginia to New England, and charge the tribes who were settled in the neighbourhood with the commission of those crimes. That they would then turn negotiators, and effect a peace, always at the expense of the nation whom they had injured. They would sell the lands of other nations to the English and receive the money, pretending to a paramount right to the whole territory, and this, say the Lenape, was their manner of CONQUERING NATIONS!

* Loakiel, part II. ch. 8.

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higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.

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CHAPTER III.

INDIAN RELATIONS OF THE CONDUCT OF THE EUROPEANS
TOWARDS THEM.

LONG and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a *white man*.

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They are, in general, very minute in these recitals, and proceed with a great degree of order and regularity. They begin with the Virginians, whom they call the *long knives*, and who were the first European settlers in this part of the American continent. "It was we," say the Lenape, Mohicans, and their kindred tribes, "who so kindly received them on their first arrival into our country. We took them by the hand, and bid them welcome to sit down by our side, and live with us as brothers, but how did they requite our kindness? They at first asked only for a little land on which to raise bread for themselves and their families, and pasture for their cattle, which we freely gave them. They soon wanted more, which we also gave them. They saw the game in the woods, which the Great Spirit had given us for our subsistence, and they want-

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"ed that too. They penetrated into the woods, in quest
"of game, they discovered spots of land which pleased
"them; that land they also wanted, and because we
"were loth to part with it, as we saw they had already
"more than they had need of, they took it from us by
"force and drove us to a great distance from our ancient
"homes."

[103] "By and by the *Dutchemaan** arrived at *Manahack-*
"tánienk,"† (here they relate with all its details what
has been said in the preceding chapter.) "The great man
"wanted only a little, little land, on which to raise
"greens for his soup, just as much as a bullock's
"hide would cover. Here we first might have observed
"their deceitful spirit. The bullock's hide was cut
"up into little strips, and did not cover, indeed, but en-
"circled a very large piece of land, which we foolishly
"granted to them. They were to raise *greens* on it, in-
"stead of which they planted *great guns*; afterwards they
"built strong houses, made themselves masters of the
"Island, then went up the river to our enemies, the
"Mengwe, made a league with them, persuaded us by
"their wicked arts to lay down our arms, and at last
"drove us entirely out of the country." Here, of course,
is related at full length, the story which we have told in
the first chapter. Then the Delawares proceed.

[103] "When the *Fengese*‡ arrived at *Machtitschwanne*,§
"they looked about every where for good spots of land,
"and when they found one, they immediately and with-
"out ceremony possessed themselves of it; we were as-

* The Hollanders.

† Manhattan, or New York Island.

‡ An Indian corruption of the word *English*, whence probably the
nickname *Yankees*.

§ This word means "a cluster of Islands with channels every way,
"so that it is in no place shut up or impassable for craft." The In-
dians think that the white people have corrupted this word into
Massachusetts. It deserves to be remarked as an example of the
comprehensiveness of the Indian languages.

¶ *Lorealan*. See cat. 116, p. 348, - *Am. Hist.*

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"tonished, but still we let them go on, not thinking it
"worth while to contend for a little land. But when at
"last they came to our favourite spots, those which lay
"most convenient to our fisheries, then bloody wars en-
"sued: we would have been contented that the white
"people and we should have lived quietly beside each
"other; but these white men encroached so fast upon us,
"that we saw at once we should lose all, if we did not
"resist them. The wars that we carried on against
"each other, were long and cruel. We were enraged
"when we saw the white people put our friends and
"relatives whom they had taken prisoners on board of
"their ships, and carry them off to sea, whether to drown
"or sell them as slaves, in the country from which they
"came, we knew not, but certain it is that none of them
"have ever returned or even been heard of. At last
"they got possession of the whole of the country which
"the Great Spirit had given us. One of our tribes was
"forced to wander far beyond Quebec; others dispersed
"in small bodies, and sought places of refuge where they
"could; some came to Pennsylvania; others went far to
"the westward and mingled with other tribes.

"To many of those, Pennsylvania was a last, de-
"lightful asylum. But here, again, the Europeans dis-
"turbed them, and forced them to emigrate, although
"they had been most kindly and hospitably received.
"On which ever side of the *Lenapewihittuck*,* the white
"people landed, they were welcomed as brothers by our
"ancestors, who gave them lands to live on, and even
"hunted for them, and furnished them with meat out of
"the woods. Such was our conduct to the white men,†
"who inhabited this country, until our elder brother, the

* The Delaware river. I have said above, p. 33. that *Hittuck* means
a rapid stream. I should have added that it means so only when pla-
ced at the end of another word, and used as a compound. Singly, it
signifies a tree.

† The Swedes and Dutch

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648 "great and good Miquon,* came and brought us words
"of peace and good will. We believed his words, and
"his memory is still held in veneration among us. But
"it was not long before our joy was turned into sor-
"row: our brother Miquon died, and those of his good
"counsellors who were of his mind, and knew what
"had passed between him and our ancestors, were no
"longer listened to; the strangers† who had taken their
"places, no longer spoke to us of sitting down by the
"side of each other as brothers of one family, they for-
"got that friendship which their great man had esta-
"blished with us, and was to last to the end of time;
"they now only strove to get all our land from us by
"fraud or by force, and when we attempted to remind them
"of what our good brother had said, they became angry,
"and sent word to our enemies the Mengwe, to meet
[103] "them at a great concil which they were to hold with us
"at *Lahawake*,‡ where they should take us by the hair
"of our heads, and shake us well. The Mengwe came,
"the council was held, and in the presence of the white
"men, who did not contradict them, they told us that we
"were women, and that they had made us such; that we
"had no right to any land, because it was all theirs; that
"we must be gone; and that as a great favour they permit-
"ted us to go and settle further into the country, at the
"place which they themselves pointed out at Wyoming."§

Thus these good Indians, with a kind of melancholy
pleasure, recite the long history of their sufferings.
After having gone through these painful details, they
seldom fail to indulge in bitter, but too just reflections
upon the men of Europe. "We and our kindred tribes,"
say they, "lived in peace and harmony with each other, .

* William Penn.

† Land traders and speculators.

‡ Easton.

§ This actually took place at a treaty held at Easton, in July and
November, 1756.

"before the white people came into this country; our
"council house* extended far to the north and far to the
"south. In the middle of it we would meet from all parts
"to smoke the pipe of peace together. When the white
"men arrived in the south, we received them as friends;
"we did the same when they arrived in the east. It was
"we, it was our forefathers, who made them welcome, and
"let them sit down by our side. The land they settled on
"was ours. We knew not but the Great Spirit had sent
"them to us for some good purpose, and therefore we
"thought they must be a good people. We were mista-
"ken; for no sooner had they obtained a footing on our
"lands, than they began to pull our council house down†
"first at one end and then at the other, and at last meeting
"each other at the centre, where the council fire was yet
"burning bright, they put it out,‡ and extinguished it with
"our own blood!§ with the blood of those|| who with us
"had received them! who had welcomed them in our land!
"Their blood ran in streams into our fire, and extinguished
"it so entirely, that not one spark was left us whereby to

* Council house here means, "Connexion District."

† Pulling the council house down. Destroying, dispersing the community, preventing their further intercourse with each other, by settling between them on their land. [MS]

‡ Putting the fire out. Murdering them or their people, where they assemble for pacific purposes, where treaties are held &c. [MS]

§ Our own blood. The blood flowing from the veins of some of our community. [MS]

|| Alluding to the murder of the Conestogo Indians, who though of another tribe, yet had joined them in welcoming the white people to their shores.

In a narrative of this lamentable event, supposed to have been written by the late Dr. Franklin, it is said: "On the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to welcome them with presents of venison, corn and skins, and the whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first proprietor, William Penn, which was to last as long as the sun should shine, or the waters run in the rivers."

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"kindle a new fire;* we were compelled to withdraw our-
selves beyond the great swamp,† and to fly to our good
uncle the Delamattenses,‡ who kindly gave us a tract of
land to live on. How long we shall be permitted to re-
main in this asylum, the Great Spirit only knows. The
whites will not rest contented until they shall have de-
stroyed the last of us, and made us disappear entirely
from the face of the earth."

I have given here only a brief specimen of the charges
which they exhibit against the white people. There are
men among them, who have by heart the whole history
of what took place between the whites and the Indians,
since the former first came into their country; and relate
the whole with ease and with an eloquence not to be
imitated. On the tablets of their memories they preserve
this record for posterity. I, at one time, in April 1787,^q
was astonished when I heard one of their orators, a great
chief of the Delaware nation, go over this ground, reca-
pitulating the most extraordinary events which had be-
fore happened, and concluding in these words: "I
admit there are good white men, but they bear no pro-
portion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest, for
they rule. They do what they please. They enslave
those who are not of their colour, although created by
the same Great Spirit who created us.‡ They would
make slaves of us if they could, but as they cannot do
[creation. Should read 1781. - Aug 1st]

* The fire was entirely extinguished by the blood of the murdered run-
ning into it; not a spark was left to kindle a new fire. This al-
ludes to the last fire that was kindled by the Pennsylvania govern-
ment and themselves at Lancaster, where the last treaty was held
with them in 1762, the year preceding this murder, which put an end
to all business of the kind in the province of Pennsylvania.

† The great Swamp. The Glades on the Allegheny mountains.

‡ Delamattenses. The Hurons or Wyandots, whom they call their
uncle. These, though speaking a dialect of the Iroquois language,
are in connexion with the Lenape.

b [creation. Should read "isn't" - Aug 1st]

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"It, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their
"words. They are not like the Indians, who are only
"enemies, while at war, and are friends in peace. They
"will say to an Indian, "my friend! my brother!"
"They will take him by the hand, and at the same mo-
"ment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to
"the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them be-
"fore long. Remember! that this day I have warned
"you to beware of such friends as these. I know the long
"knives; they are not to be trusted."

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this
prophetic chief, ninety six of the same Christian Indians,
about sixty of them women and children, were murdered
at the place where these very words had been spoken,
by the same men he had alluded to, and in the same
manner that he had described. See Loskiel's History,
Part III. ch. 10.

173 the spot where Philadelphia now stands; others were conducted by the Mohicans into their own country, where they intermarried with them and became one people. When those settled near the Delaware had multiplied, they returned to Wyoming on the Susquehannah, where they resided for a great number of years.

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In the mean while, those who had remained on the Ohio increased in numbers, and in process of time began again to be troublesome to their neighbours. At last, they crossed the Allegheny mountains, and falling upon the camps of the Lenape on Juniata river, they committed several murders and went off with their plunder. It was soon discovered who were the aggressors; but the Lenape had now assumed the station of "the woman," and could not engage in wars. They could only apply for protection to the Five Nations, which they did, expecting that they would immediately pursue the offenders and inflict an exemplary punishment upon them, but the Five Nations found means to evade their demand for the present. They told the Delawares that the season was too far advanced to commence a war; that it was better to put off their intended expedition until the ensuing spring; that in the mean time, both nations should put themselves in readiness, and keep their preparations secret, and that as soon as the season should open, they would march off separately and meet together at an appointed time and place on the Allegheny, then push on together for the Shawano towns below the confluence of that river and the Monongahela, where they could fall together unawares on the aggressors and punish them. The Iroquois promised, as usual, that they would place themselves in the front of the battle, so that the Delawares would have nothing to do but to look on and see how bravely their protectors would fight for them, and if they were not satisfied with that, they might take their revenge themselves.

Agreeably to this plan, the Lenape remained quiet till

the spring, when, with a body of their most valliant men, they marched to the appointed spot; but how great was their surprise when their pretended champions did not make their appearance? They suspected treachery, and were not mistaken; for having immediately marched forward to the Shawano towns, bent on taking an exemplary revenge, they had the disappointment to see on their arrival their enemies pushing off as fast as they could down the Ohio river in their canoes. Some of them were flying by land, as probably they had not a sufficient number of canoes to convey their whole number; these they pursued and attacked, beat them severely, and took several prisoners. Here they had a striking instance of the treachery of the Mengwe, who had warned the Shawanos of their approach. Some time after this, the Shawanos who resided on the north branch of the Susquehannah, began to draw off by degrees, first to the west branch of that river and the Juniata, and then to the Ohio; so that at the commencement of the French war in 1755, they had all, except a few families, with whom was their chief Paxnos, retired to the Ohio, where they joined their countrymen in the war against the English.*

* While these people lived at Wyoming and in its vicinity, they were frequently visited by missionaries of the Society of the United Brethren, who knowing them to be the most depraved and ferocious tribe of all the Indian nations they had heard of, sought to establish a friendship with them, so as not to be interrupted in their journeys from one Indian Mission to another. Count Zinzendorff being at that time in the country, went in 1742 with some other Missionaries to visit them at Wyoming, stayed with them 20 days, and endeavoured to impress the gospel truths upon their minds; but these hardened people, suspecting his views, and believing that he wanted to purchase their land, on which it was reported there were mines of silver, conspired to murder him, and would have effected their purpose, but that Conrad Weiser, the Indian interpreter, arrived fortunately in time to prevent it. (Loskiel part II. ch. 1.) Notwithstanding this, the brethren frequently visited them, and Shellelemus, a

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578 They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other. When one supposes himself hurt or aggrieved by a word which has inadvertently fallen from the mouth of another, he will say to him: "Friend, you have caused me to become jealous of you," (meaning that he begins to doubt the sincerity of his friendship,) when the other explaining and saying that he had no bad intention, all is done away again.

522 They do not fight with each other; they say that fighting is only for dogs and beasts. They are, however, fond of play, and passing a joke, yet very careful that they do not offend.

They are ingenious in making satirical observations, which though they create laughter, do not, or but seldom give offence. For instance, seeing a bad hunter going out into the woods with his gun, they will ask him if he is going out for meat? or say to one another: "now we shall have meat, for such a one is gone a hunting," (not believing any such thing.) If they see a coward joining a war party, they will ask him ironically at what time he intends to come back again? (knowing that he will return before he has met the enemy,) or they will say to one another: "will he return this way with his scalps?"

522
648 Genuine wit, which one would hardly expect to find in a savage people, is not unfrequent among them. I have heard them, for instance, compare the English and American nations to a pair of scissors, an instrument composed of two sharp edged knives exactly alike, working against each other for the same purpose, that of cutting. By the construction of this instrument, they said, it would appear as if in shutting, these two sharp knives would strike together and destroy each other's edges; but no such thing: they only cut *what comes between them*. And thus the English and Americans do when they go to war against one another. It is not each

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other that they want to destroy, but us, poor Indians, 522
that are between them. By this means they get our 648
lan and, when that is obtained, the scissors are closed
again, and laid by for further use.

They are remarkable for the particular respect which 888
they pay to old age. In all their meetings, whether public or private, they pay the greatest attention to the observations and advice of the aged; no one will attempt to contradict them, nor to interfere in any manner or even to speak, unless he is specially called upon. "The aged," they say, "have lived through the whole period of our "lives, and long before we were born; they have not "only all the knowledge we possess, but a great deal "more. We, therefore, must submit our limited views "to their experience."

' In travelling, one of the oldest will always take the lead, unless another is specially appointed for that purpose.' If such a one stops to hunt, or in order to stay and encamp at the place for some time, all halt together, all are pleased with the spot and declare it to be judiciously chosen.

I shall expatiate further on this interesting part of the Indian character, in the sequel of this work.

They have a strong innate sense of justice, which will 181
lead them sometimes to acts which some men will call heroic, others romantic; and not a few, perhaps, will designate by the epithet *barbarous*; a vague indefinite word, which if it means any thing, might, perhaps, be best explained by *something not like ourselves*. However that 000
may be, this feeling certainly exists among the Indians, and as I cannot describe it better than by its effects, I shall content myself with relating on this subject a characteristic anecdote which happened in the year 1793, at an Indian village called *La Chine*, situated pine miles above Montreal, and was told me in the same year by Mr. La Ramée, a French Canadian inhabitant of that place, whom I believe to be a person of strict veracity.

537 late against their languages, which are in general believed to be poor, and inadequate to the expression of any but the most common ideas. Hence all the specimens that have been given to the world of their oratory have been viewed with a suspicious eye; the celebrated speech of Logan, authenticated as it is by the respectable authority of Col. John Gibson, has been denied to be genuine even in this country. For my part, I am convinced that it was delivered precisely as it is related to us, with this only difference, that it possessed a force and expression in the Indian language which it is impossible to transmit into our own.

I hope the exertions and researches of the Historical Committee will make the character and genius of the Indian languages better known than they have hitherto been. The world will then be better able to judge of their extent and powers, and to decide whether or not they are adequate to the purposes of oratory. In the mean time, I shall content myself with presenting another specimen of Indian eloquence; one which I did not receive at second hand, but at the delivery of which I was present in person. The translation which I offer will give but a faint idea of the strength and spirit of the original; I vouch, however, for its being as correct as it has been in my power to make it.

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648 This speech was spoken at Detroit,* on the frontier of Canada, on the 9th of December^A 1801, by captain Pipe, a chief of the Delaware nation, and was addressed to the commanding officer of that post, then in possession of the British. The Delawares, it will be recollected, had been the steadfast friends of the French, in the war of 1756. The peace which was concluded in 1763, between the two great nations who then contended for the supremacy of this continent, was not for several years regarded by the Indians, and they continued their hostilities

1. *See also* cat. 116, p. 348. - *And yet*
* Loockiel, part III. ch 9.

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against the subjects and government of Great Britain: 537
They were obliged, however, to submit to superior force; 648
not without hopes that their father, the king of France,
would soon send over a powerful army to retake Canada.
They were in this situation when the war of the
revolution broke out. It is well known that it was a
part of the system of the British administration to em-
ploy the savages to subdue those whom they called their
revolted subjects. The Delawares, in general, as I have
before related, having in vain endeavoured to remain
neutral, took part with the Americans. Captain Pipe,
however, with a party of the Wolf tribe, joined the Eng-
lish in the beginning of the war, and soon after repented
it. But it was too late. He was now reluctantly com-
pelled to go out against the Americans with the men
under his command. On his return from one of those
expeditions, he went to make his report to the Bri-
tish commandant at Detroit,* by whom he was recei-
ved in state at the council house, in the presence of a
great number of Indians, British officers and others.
There were several Missionaries present, among which I
was. The chief was seated in front of his Indians, fac-
ing the commandant. He held in his left hand an hu-
man scalp tied to a short stick. After a pause of some
minutes, he rose, and addressing the governor, delivered
the following speech:

"FATHER!" (Here the orator stopped, and turning 537
round to the audience, with a face full of meaning, and a
sarcastic look, which I should in vain attempt to describe,
he went on in a lower tone of voice, as addressing him-
self to them:—"I have said *father*, although, indeed, I
do not know why I am to call him so, having never
known any other father than the French, and consi-
dering the English only as *brothers*. But as this
name is also imposed upon us, I shall make use of it

* See Lookiel, P. III. ch. 9. p. 704, German text, and p. 165, Eng.

537 "you. In a few days you will receive this *flesh*, and
"and that the skin is of the same colour with your own.

"FATHER! I hope you will not destroy what I have
"saved. You, father! have the means of preserving
"that which with me would perish for want. The war-
"rior is poor and his cabin is always empty; but your
"house, father! is always full."

Here we see boldness, frankness, dignity and humani-
ty happily blended together and most eloquently display-
ed. I am much mistaken if the component parts of this
discourse are not put together much according to the
rules of oratory which are taught in the schools, and
which were certainly unknown to this savage. The
peroration at the end is short, but truly pathetic, and
I would even say, sublime; and then the admirable way
in which it is prepared! I wish I could convey to the
reader's mind only a small part of the impression which
this speech made on me and on all present when it was
delivered.

537 It is but justice here to say, that Capt. Pipe was well
648 acquainted with the noble and generous character of the
British officer to whom this speech was addressed. He
is still living in his own country, an honour to the Bri-
tish name. He obeyed the orders of his superiors in
employing the Indians to fight against us, but he did
it with reluctance and softened as much as was in his
power the horrors of that abominable warfare. He es-
teemed Captain Pipe, and I have no doubt, was well
pleased with the humane conduct of this Indian chief,
whose sagacity in this instance is no less deserving of
praise than his eloquence. It is thus that great minds
understand each other, and even in the most difficult and
trying situations, find the means of making the cause of
humanity triumph.

- To make his language agree with the expression *his flesh*.

553 rally torn or patched, was called *Bad Shoes*. All those names are generally expressed in one single word, in compounding which the Indians are very ingenious. Thus, the name they had for the place where Philadelphia now stands, and which they have preserved notwithstanding the great change which has taken place, is *Kûequenâku*,* which means, *The grove of the long pine trees*.

[103] They have proper names, not only for all towns, villages, mountains, valleys, rivers, and streams, but for all remarkable spots, as for instance, those which are particularly infested with gnats or mosquitoes, where snakes have their dens, &c. Those names always contain an allusion to such particular circumstance, so that foreigners, even though acquainted with their language, will often be at a loss to understand their discourse.

829 To strangers, white men for instance, they will give names derived from some remarkable quality which they have observed in them, or from some circumstance which remarkably strikes them. When they were told the meaning of the name of William Penn, they translated it into their own language by *Miquon*, which means a feather or quill. The Iroquois called him *Onas*, which in their idiom means the same thing.

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551 The first name given by the Indians to the Europeans who landed in Virginia was *Wapsid Lenape* (white people;) when, however, afterwards they began to commit murders on the red men, whom they pierced with swords, they gave to the Virginians the name *Mechanschicau*; (long knives,) to distinguish them from others of the same colour.

In New England, they at first endeavoured to imitate the sound of the national name of the *English*, which they pronounced *Yengees*. They also called them *Chauqua-quock*, (men of knives) for having imported those instruments into the country, which they gave in presents

* According to the powers of the English alphabet, it should be written Koo-ek-wen-aw-koo

829 to the natives.* They thought them better men than the
648 Virginians; but when they were afterwards cruelly treat-
551 ed by them, and their men shipped off to sea, the Mohi-
cans of that country called them *Tschachgoos*; and when
next the people of the middle colonies began to murder
them, and called on the Iroquois to insult them and as-
sist in depriving them of their lands, they then dropped
that name, and called the whites by way of derision,
Schwannack, which signifies *salt beings*, or *bitter beings*;
for in their language the word *Schwan*, is in general ap-
plied to things that have a salt, sharp, bitter, or sour
taste. The object of this name, as well as of that which
the Mohicans gave to the eastern people, was to express
contempt as well as hatred or dislike, and to hold out
the white inhabitants of the country as hateful and despi-
cable beings. I have, however, in many instances ob-
served that the Indians are careful not to apply this op-
probrious name to any white person whom they know to
be amicably disposed towards them, and whom they are
sure to be a good, honest, well-meaning man. I have
heard them charge their children not to call a particular
white man *Schwannack*, but *Friend*. This name was
first introduced about the year 1730. They never ap-
ply it to the *Quakers*, whom they greatly love and re-
spect since the first arrival of William Penn into the
country. They call them *Quækels*, not having in their
language the sound expressed by our letter R. They
say they have always found them good, honest, affable
and peaceable men, and never have had reason to com-
plain of them.

648 These were the names which the Indians gave to the
551 whites, until the middle of the revolutionary war, when
they were reduced to the following three:

1. *Mechanschican* or *Chanschican*, (long knives.) This

* Rogers's Key into the Language of the Indians of New England,
ch. vi.

648 they no longer applied to the Virginians exclusively, but.
551 also to those of the people of the middle states, whom
they considered as hostilely inclined towards them, particularly those who wore swords, dirks, or knives at their sides.

2. *Yengees*. This name they now exclusively applied to the people of New England, who, indeed, appeared to have adopted it, and were, as they still are, generally through the country called *Yankees*, which is evidently the same name with a trifling alteration. They say they know the *Yengees*, and can distinguish them by their dress and personal appearance, and that they were considered as less cruel than the Virginians or *long knives*. The proper English they call *Saggenash*.

3. *Quakels*. They do not now apply this name exclusively to the members of the Society of Friends, but to all the white people whom they love or respect, and whom they believe to have good intentions towards them.

Not only the Delawares, but all the nations round them, make use of these names, and with the same relative application. I have myself, in 1782, while at Detroit, witnessed the Chippeways, who on meeting an American prisoner, who was walking about, called out *Messamoch-kemaan*, (*long knife*) though he had no knife, sword, or dirk at his side. I was one day about the same time hailed in that manner as I was walking up the river, and apprehending that I might be seized as a runaway prisoner, I immediately answered: *Kiu! Saggenash; No! an Englishman; and they passed on.* I might with great propriety make this answer, as I was born in England.

In the year 1808, while I was riding with a number of gentlemen through Greentown (an Indian town in the state of Ohio), I heard an Indian in his house, who through a crevice saw us passing, say in his language to his family: "See! what a number of people are coming along!—What! and among all these not one *long knife*!"
[See also. See cat. 116 p. 349, -Ans 17 st]

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"All Fegets!"—Then, probably observing me, he said correcting himself, "No! one Quackel."

Such are the observations which the Indians make on the white people, and the names which they give to them. They may sometimes be in the wrong; but, as they make it their particular study to become acquainted with the actions, motions, deportment and dress of the different nations, they seldom commit mistakes, and in general, they apply their different names precisely to those whom they are meant to designate or describe.

CHAPTER XIV.

INTERCOURSE WITH EACH OTHER.

IT is a striking fact, that the Indians, in their uncivilised state, should so behave towards each other as though they were a civilised people! I have in numerous instances witnessed their meeting together, their doing business and conversing with each other for hours, their labouring together, and their hunting and fishing in bodies or parties; I have seen them divide their game, venison, bear's meat, fish, &c. among themselves, when they sometimes had many shares to make, and cannot recollect a single instance of their falling into a dispute or finding fault with the distribution, as being unequal, or otherwise objectionable. On the contrary, on such occasions they even receive what is allotted to them with thanks; they say "*aníschi*," I am thankful! as if it was a present given to them.

576 with which her husband is honoured, never grumbling
574 on account of their eating up the provisions, even if it
were what she had cooked for her own family, considering the friendly visit well worth this small trouble and expense.

It is true, that among themselves, they expect the same attention and hospitality paid to them in return; yet that is not their main object, for I have seen a number of instances in which a return was out of the question, where poverty would not admit of it, or distance of abode put it out of the power of the visiter to return the same civilities to his host: when white people are treated in this way, with the best entertainment the house affords, they may be sure it is nothing else than a mark of respect paid to them, and that the attentions they receive do not proceed from any interested view.

CHAPTER XV.

POLITICAL MANŒUVRES.

● 648 IN the management of their national affairs, the Indians display as much skill and dexterity, perhaps, as any people upon earth. When a political message is sent to them from a neighbouring nation, they generally contrive to send an answer so ambiguously worded, that it is difficult to come at their real meaning; they conceive this to be the best way of getting rid of a proposal which they do not like, because those who sent them the message are for some time, at least, at a loss
[Erratum. See vol. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

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to comprehend the meaning, and not knowing whether the answer is favourable or unfavourable, their proceedings are necessarily suspended until they can discover its true sense; in this manner have operations been sometimes entirely prevented, and matters have remained in the same situation that they were in before. 648 •

It may be supposed, perhaps, that such an artful manner of treating each other might be thought provoking, and cause jealousies and disputes among the different parties; such is not, however, the case, as nothing insulting is ever contained in those messages; and as offence is not meant, it is not taken. The Indians consider it on all sides as a kind of diplomatic proceeding, an exercise which tends to invigorate the mind, of which they are very fond. It gives them opportunities to reflect and think deeply on matters of importance, and of displaying their genius, when they have found or discovered the secret of an answer sent to them, or hit upon the true meaning of an ambiguous message.

At the time of the Revolutionary war I witnessed a curious scene of diplomatic manœuvres between two great men of the Delaware nation, both of whom had in their time signalised themselves as brave and courageous men, and had acquired the character of two great war chiefs. The war that I speak of, which had but lately begun, had made it necessary for the Indians to consult their present and future safety. Captain White Eyes, of the Turtle tribe, who was placed at the head of his nation, had its welfare much at heart. He was in favour of their following the advice given them by the American Congress, which was to remain neutral, and not to meddle in the quarrel between the Americans and the parent country. He advised his people, therefore, to remain in friendship with both sides, and not to take up arms against either, as it might bring them into trouble, and perhaps, in the end, effect their ruin. 662 648

On the other hand, Captain Pipe, of the Wolf tribe, [643]

- 648 who resided at the distance of fifteen miles, where he had
662 his council fire, was of a different opinion, and leaned
on the side of the British. He was an artful, ambitious man, yet not deficient in greatness of mind, as I have shewn in a preceding chapter. But his head at that time was full of the wrongs which the Indians had suffered from the Americans, from their first coming into the country; his soul panted for revenge, and he was glad to seize the opportunity that now offered. He professed his readiness to join in proper measures to save the nation, but not such measures as his antagonist proposed; what his real object was he did not openly declare, but privately endeavoured to counteract all that was done and proposed by the other. White Eyes, however, was a sensible upright man, and never was deficient in means to support his own measures, and extricate himself from the snares with which he was on all sides surrounded by Captain Pipe. Thus they went on for upwards of two years, Pipe working clandestinely, and keeping his spies continually on the watch upon the other, while White Eyes acted openly and publicly, as though he knew nothing of what was machinating against him.

At last, a circumstance took place which apparently justified Captain Pipe in the measures he wished to pursue. In March 1778, a number of white people, of those whom we called Tories, among whom were M^r Kee, Elliott, Girty, and several others, having escaped from Pittsburg, told the Indians wherever they came, "that they must arm and be off immediately, and kill all the Americans wherever they found them, for they had determined to destroy all the Indians, and possess themselves of their country." White Eyes, not believing what these men said, advised his people to remain quiet, for this report could not be true. Pipe, on the contrary, called his men together, and in a speech which he addressed to them, pronounced every man an enemy to his country who endeavoured to dissuade them from going out against the Ame-

ricans, and said that all such ought to be put to death. 648
Captain White Eyes was not disconcerted; he immediately assembled his warriors, and told them "that if they 662
"meant in earnest to go out, as he observed some of them
"were preparing to do, they should not go without him.
"He had taken peace measures in order to save the
"nation from utter destruction. But if they believed
"that he was in the wrong, and gave more credit to va-
"gabond fugitives, whom he knew to be such, than to
"himself, who was best acquainted with the real state of
"things; if they had determined to follow their advice,
"and go out against the Americans, he would go out
"with them; he would lead them on, place himself in the
"front, and be the first who should fall. They only
"had to determine on what they meant to do; for his
"own mind was fully made up not to survive his nation,
"and he would not spend the remainder of a misera-
"ble life, in bewailing the total destruction of a brave
"people, who deserved a better fate."

This spirited, and at the same time pathetic, speech of Captain White Eyes, made such an impression on the minds of the audience, that they unanimously declared that they would obey his orders, and listen to no person but himself, either white or of their own colour. Indeed, there was too much force, too much majesty in this address to be resisted; when this was reported to Pipe by his emissaries, he was absolutely confounded, and knew not what to do. A few days afterwards, the council of the Delaware nation received the most friendly and flattering messages from the commandant, and Indian agent at Pittsburg, cautioning them, "not to listen to
"those worthless men who had ran off from them in the
"night, and to be assured of the steady friendship of the
"Government of the United States." Pipe was so put to the blush, and took this matter so much to heart, that he soon after threw off the mask, permitted his men to go out and murder the Americans, and afterwards went

648 off with them to Sandusky, under the protection of the
 662 British Government. We have seen in a former chap-
 ter that he afterwards saw how impolitic his conduct had
 been, and probably wished to retrace his steps, but it
 was too late. He had suffered himself to be misled by
 his passions, excited by the remembrance of former
 wrongs, and thus was betrayed into his injudicious con-
 duct. Perhaps also his jealousy of Captain White Eyes,
 whose superiority his proud mind could not bear, did
 not in a small degree contribute to it. Pipe was cer-
 tainly a great man, but White Eyes was, in my opinion,
 the greatest of the two. I was present when he made the
 speech which I have related, and never shall forget the
 impression it made upon me.

Thus Indian politicians work and manage matters
 against each other without newspaper wrangles, abuse
 of character, personal quarrels, or open insults. Their
 ingenuity, when joined to a good cause, generally
 makes them come off victorious. In a bad cause, on the
 contrary, they are sure to meet with detection and defeat, as
 Captain Pipe, for his misfortune, sadly experienced.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARRIAGE AND TREATMENT OF THEIR WIVES.

562 THERE are many persons who believe, from the
 593 labour that they see the Indian women perform, that they
 461 are in a manner treated as slaves. These labours, in-
 deed, are hard, compared with the tasks that are im-
 posed upon females in civilised society; but they are no
 more than their fair share, under every consideration
 2 [see text. See cat. 116, p. 348]

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duct of this chief, and by his manly and resolute appearance, that they had not time to reflect upon what they should do, and before their astonishment was well over, the prisoner was out of their reach.

CHAPTER XIX.

WARS AND THE CAUSES WHICH LEAD TO THEM.

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IT is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend, and, therefore, that whoever wrongs or does harm to another, is his ENEMY. As it is with individuals, so it is with nations, tribes and other independent associations of men. If they commit murder on another people, encroach on their lands, by making it a practice to come within their bounds and take the game from them, if they rob or steal from their hunting camps, or, in short, are guilty of any act of unjust aggression, they cannot be considered otherwise than as ENEMIES; they are declared to be such, and the aggrieved nation think themselves justifiable in punishing them. If murder has been perpetrated, revenge is taken in the same way. If a lesser injury has been done, a message is sent to the chief of the nation to which the wrong-doers belong, to enquire whether the act complained of was authorised, if not to give them warning not to permit the like thing to be done again. If theft or some other like offence has been committed, restitution is at the same time demanded, or such reparation as the case admits of, and the chiefs are de-

aired to forbid their "young people" to do so any more, or that they will have to abide by the consequence.

There are tribes among the Indians, who claim the exclusive right of hunting within certain bounds, and will not suffer others to intrude and take their game from them, as they call it; and there have been instances, when such intruders, being found trespassing after a fair warning, have had their ears and noses cut off, and have been sent home to tell their chiefs that the next time they came again, they should be sent home without their scalps. While the Christian Indians of the Lenape nation were settled for a few years on the land of the Chippeways beyond Detroit, where they had taken refuge and were permitted to remain for their safety; though the Chippeways professed reverence for them, and called them *Grandfather*, yet they were continually complaining of their killing their game. They had no objection to their tilling the ground, but every deer, racoon, or other animal which they killed or took, was a cause of displeasure to their hosts; and in consequence of that, they pressed them so often to remove from their lands, that they at last went off.

When the Indians have determined to take revenge for a murder committed by another nation, they generally endeavour to make at once a bold stroke, so as to strike their enemies with terror; for which purpose, they penetrate into the hostile country as far as they can without being discovered, and when they have made their stroke, they leave a war club near the body of the person murdered, and make off as quick as possible. This war club is purposely left that the enemy may know to what nation the act is to be ascribed, and that they may not wreak their vengeance on an innocent tribe. It is meant also to let them know that unless they take measures to discover and punish the author of the original aggression, this instrument will be the means of revenging the injury, or, in other words, war will be forthwith declared against them.

CHAPTER XXI.

PEACE MESSENGERS.

WHILE the American Indians remained in the free and undisturbed possession of the land which God gave to them, and even for a long time after the Europeans had settled themselves in their territory, there was no people upon earth who paid a more religious respect than they did to the sacred character of ambassadors, or (as they call them) *Messengers of peace*. It is too well known that since about the middle of the last century a great change has taken place, the cause of which, I am sorry to say, the Indians lay entirely to our charge.

The inviolability of the person of an ambassador is one of those sacred fundamental principles of the law of nature which the Almighty Creator has imprinted upon the heart of every living man. History teaches us that the most barbarous and savage nations have at all times admitted and carried it into practice. It is a lamentable truth that all the violations of it that stand upon record, are to be ascribed to civilised man or to his contagious example.

It is certain that among our Indians the person of an ambassador was formerly held most sacred and inviolable. All the nations and tribes were agreed upon this point, that a messenger, though sent by the most hostile people, was entitled not only to respect but to protection. To have, I will not say murdered, but knowingly ill treated a person of this description, was with them an unpardonable crime. War parties were always instructed, if they should find a messenger on his way from one

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- 648 nation to another, not only to give him protection but
726 hospitality, and see him safely conducted to the people to
whom he was sent.

In the same manner, when a messenger was sent to them by a nation with whom they were at war or at variance, though they might be ever so much exasperated against them, and even though they had firmly determined *not to listen*, that is to say, not to consent to their propositions, whatever they might be, still they would grant their protection to the man of peace, and tell him in their expressive language "that they had taken him "under their wings, or placed him under their arm pits, "where he was perfectly safe." It was with them a point of religious belief, that *pacific* messengers were under the special protection of the Great Spirit; that it was unlawful to molest them, and that the nation which should be guilty of so enormous a crime would surely be punished by being unsuccessful in war, and perhaps, by suffering a total defeat. Therefore, frequent instances happened of such messengers being sent back with the most threatening messages, such as, that it was determined to wage a war of blood and destruction, and that no quarters would be given, yet the ambassadors themselves did not meet with the least insult or disrespect; they were protected during all the time that they remained in the hostile country, and were safely conducted to their own nation, or at least, so far on their way as to be out of danger from the enemy's warriors, leaving them a sufficient time to reach their houses, before a fresh stroke was made, to give notice that the truce was at an end or that the war was begun. I have heard of messengers being sent back with a message to this effect: "I return "to your bosom, safe and unmolested, the messengers "you sent me. The answer to the speech they brought "me from you, you will learn from my young warriors, "who are gone to see you." The nature of the visit thus announced may be easily guessed at. The message

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was in fact a declaration of war, with a fair notice that
an invasion of the enemy's country was immediately to
take place. 648 726

Such were the principles, such was the manly conduct
of the Indians in former times. How different it is at
present I need not say. We yet remember the unhappy
fate of Messrs. Trueman, Freeman, and Hurdin. These
three respectable American gentlemen, were in the year
1792, sent to the Indians with flags of truce and peace
proposals, and were all wantonly murdered. To whom
is this horrid state of things to be attributed? I will not
pretend to judge, but let us hear what the Indians say. 178 648 726

The principal reasons which they assign as having
brought about this great change, are comprised under the
following general heads.

I. That the white people have intermeddled with their
national concerns, by dictating to one nation how they
should treat another, and even how they should speak and
what they should say to them, and by this means have
entirely destroyed their national independence. That
they have even encouraged and supported one Indian
nation in not only affecting but actually exercising domi-
nion and supremacy over all the others.

II. That the whites have treated the Indians as a con-
temptible race and paid no regard themselves to the sa-
cred character of messengers, but murdered them as well
as their chiefs in numerous instances without distinction.
That they even polluted what among them is esteemed
most holy and inviolable, their council fires, extinguishing
them (as they express themselves) with streams of the
best blood of their nation, in violation of their professions
and most solemn promises! That their whole conduct
in short has appeared as if they would say to them: "we
do not care for you; we despise you—all we want is
your lands, and those we will have."

Now are they at a loss when called upon to specify the
particular injuries of which they complain. Amidst a

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a long list of similar grievances, I shall select a few of the most prominent.

1. The protection given against them to the Iroquois, encouraging that nation to insult them, to treat them as women made such by conquest, and to exercise a tyrannical superiority over them.

2. The murder of the Conestogo Indians, at the very place where a council fire was burning at the time; where treaties had been held with them in early times, and where even a treaty had been concluded in 1762, the year preceding the murder; and that too, in the country of their brother *Miquon*, in the *Quaker* country, in Pennsylvania.

3. The horrid murder committed between the years 1776 and 1779, on the great and much valued Shawano chief *Cornstalk*, at *Kanhawa*, where it was known that he was on a friendly and interesting errand.

4. The firing upon and severely wounding a noted Shawano in the year 1774, while on his return from *Pittsburg*, to which place he had, out of friendship and humanity, conducted several white traders and protected them against an enraged body of Indians, on whose relations the white people had committed most horrid murders.

5. The attacking the peaceable encampment of the Delaware chiefs on the island at *Pittsburgh*, where one *Messenger* and several others were murdered.

6. The murder of the Christian Indians on *Muskingum*, by *Williamson's* party, together with the chief from *Achsinning* (the standing stone,) although the persons thus murdered were known to be friends to the whites.

The Indians relate many more outrages committed on messengers, visitors, and other friendly Indians, of which I shall spare the painful recital to my readers. From this series of unjust and cruel acts, the Indian nations have at last come to the conclusion, that the Americans are in their hearts inimical to them, and that when they

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send them messengers of peace, they only mean to lull them into a fancied security, that they may the easier fall upon and destroy them. It was in consequence of this conviction that the three respectable gentlemen whom I have already mentioned, met with their unhappy fate. 178 648 726

CHAPTER XXII.

TREATIES.

IN early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their differences, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peace-makers were sitting, all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, of whatever form or shape. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive and forget, to bury the destructive weapon, and put it quite out of sight; we cast away from us the fatal instrument that has caused so much grief to our wives and children, and has been the source of so many tears. It is our earnest hope and wish that it may never be dug up again." So particular were they on this point, that if a single weapon had been in sight, while a treaty was negotiating, it would have disturbed their minds by recalling the memory of past events, and instead, (as they say) of gladdening their hearts, by the prospect of 728 648

728 a speedy peace, would, on the contrary, have filled them
648 with sorrow.

Nor would they even permit any warlike weapons to remain within the limits of their council fire, when assembled together about the ordinary business of government. It might, they said, have a bad effect, and defeat the object for which they had met. It might be a check on some of the persons assembled, and perhaps, prevent those who had a just complaint or representation to make, from speaking their minds freely. William Penn, said they, when he treated with them, adopted this ancient mode of their ancestors, and convened them under a grove of shady trees, where the little birds on their boughs were warbling their sweet notes. In commemoration of these conferences (which are always to Indians a subject of pleasing remembrance) they frequently assembled together in the woods, in some shady spot as nearly as possible similar to those where they used to meet their brother *Miquon*, and there lay all his "words" or speeches, with those of his descendants, on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and with great satisfaction go successively over the whole. This practice (which I have repeatedly witnessed) continued until the year 1780, when the disturbances which then took place put an end to it, probably for ever.

These pleasing remembrances, these sacred usages are no more. "When we treat with the white people," do the Indians now say, "we have not the choice of the spot where the messengers are to meet. When we are called upon to conclude a peace, (and what a peace?) the meeting no longer takes place in the shady grove, where the innocent little birds with their cheerful songs, seem as if they wished to soothe and enliven our minds, tune them to amity and concord and take a part in the good work for which we are met. Neither is it at the sacred council house, that we are invited to assemble. No!—It is at

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"some of those horrid places, surrounded with mounds
"and ditches, where the most destructive of all weapons,
"where great guns, are gaping at us with their wide
"mouths, as if ready to devour us; and thus we are
"prevented from speaking our minds freely, as brothers
"ought to do!"

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How then, say they, can there be any sincerity in such councils? how can a treaty of this kind be binding on men thus forced to agree to what is dictated to them in a strong prison and at the cannon's mouth; where all the stipulations are on one side, where all is concession on the one part and no friendship appears on the other? From these considerations, which they urge and constantly dwell upon, the treaties which they make with the white men have lost all their force, and they think themselves no longer bound by them than they are compelled by superior power. Are they right in this or are they wrong? The impartial reader must decide.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF THE INDIANS ON THE WHITE
PEOPLE.

THE Indians believe that the Whites were made
by the same Great Spirit who created them, and that he
assigned to each different race of men a particular em-
ployment in this world, but not the same to all. To the
whites the great Mannitto gave it in charge to till the
ground and raise by cultivation the fruits of the earth;

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FRIENDSHIP.

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THOSE who believe that no faith is to be placed in the friendship of an Indian are egregiously mistaken, and know very little of the true character of those men of nature. They are, it is true, revengeful to their enemies, to those who wilfully do them an injury, who insult, abuse, or treat them with contempt. It may be said, indeed, that the passion of revenge is so strong in them that it knows no bounds. This does not, however, proceed from a bad or malicious disposition, but from the violence of natural feelings, unchecked by social institutions, and unsubdued by the force of revealed religion. The tender and generous passions operate no less powerfully on them than those of an opposite character, and they are as warm and sincere in their friendship, as vindictive in their enmities. Nay, I will venture to assert that there

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are those among them who on an emergency would lay down their lives for a friend: I could fill many pages with examples of Indian friendship and fidelity, not only to each other, but to men of other nations and of a different colour than themselves. How often, when wars were impending between them and the whites, have they not forewarned those among our frontier settlers whom they thought well disposed towards them, that dangerous times were at hand, and advised them to provide for their own safety, regardless of the jealousy which such conduct might excite among their own people? How often did they not even guard and escort them through the most dangerous places until they had reached a secure spot?

How often did they not find means to keep an enemy from striking a stroke, as they call it, that is to say from proceeding to the sudden indiscriminate murder of the frontier whites, until their friends or those whom they considered as such were out of all danger? 572
648 ●

These facts are familiar to every one who has lived among Indians or in their neighbourhood, and I believe it will be difficult to find a single case in which they betrayed a real friend or abandoned him in the hour of danger, when it was in their power to extricate or relieve him. The word "Friend" to the ear of an Indian does not convey the same vague and almost indefinite meaning that it does with us; it is not a mere complimentary or social expression, but implies a resolute determination to stand by the person so distinguished on all occasions, and a threat to those who might attempt to molest him; the mere looking at two persons who are known or declared friends, is sufficient to deter any one from offering insult to either. When an Indian believes that he has reason to suspect a man of evil designs against his friend, he has only to say emphatically: "This is *my friend*, and if any one tries to hurt him, I will do *to him what is in my mind*." It is as much as to say that he will stand in his defence at the hazard of his own life. This language is well understood by the Indians, who know that they would have to combat with a spirited warrior, were they to attempt any thing against his friend. By this means much bloodshed is prevented; for it is sufficiently known that an Indian never proffers his friendship in vain. Many white men and myself among others have experienced the benefit of their powerful as well as generous protection.

When in the spring of the year 1774, a war broke out between the Virginians and the Shawanese and Mingoes, on account of murders committed by the former on the the latter people, and the exasperated friends of those

572 who had suffered had determined to kill every white man
 648 in their country, the Shawano chief *Silver-heels*,* taking
 another Indian with him, undertook out of friendship to
 escort several white traders from thence to Albany, a
 distance of near two hundred miles; well knowing at the
 time that he was running the risk of his own life, from
 exasperated Indians and vagabond whites, if he should
 meet with such on the road, as in fact he did on his re-
 turn. I have already said how he was rewarded for this
 noble act of friendship and self devotion.

In the year 1779, the noted Girty with his murdering
 party of Mingoes, nine in number, fell in with the Mis-
 sionary Zeisberger, on the path leading from Goschac-
 king to Gnadenhütten; their design was to take that wor-
 thy man prisoner, and if they could not seize him alive,
 to murder him and take his scalp to Detroit. They were
 on the point of laying hold of him, when two young spi-
 rited Delawares providentially entered the path at that
 critical moment and in an instant presented themselves
 to defend the good Missionary at the risk of their lives.
 Their determined conduct had the desired success, and
 his life was saved. His deliverers afterwards declared
 that they had no other motive for thus exposing them-
 selves for his sake than that he was a friend to their na-
 tion and was considered by them as a good man.

But why should I speak of others when I have myself
 so often experienced the benefits of Indian protection and
 friendship. Let me be permitted to corroborate my as-
 sertions on this subject by my own personal testimony.

In the year 1777, while the revolutionary war was
 raging, and several Indian tribes had enlisted on the
 British side, and were spreading murder and devastation
 along our unprotected frontier, I rather rashly determi-
 ned to take a journey into the country on a visit to my
 friends. Captain White Eyes, the Indian hero, whose

* The same whom I have spoken of above, page 174, No. 4.

[Enclosed. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

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character I have already described,* resided at that time at the distance of seventeen miles from the place where I lived. Hearing of my determination, he immediately hurried up to me, with his friend Captain Wingenund, (whom I shall presently have occasion further to mention) and some of his young men, for the purpose of escorting me to Pittsburg, saying, "that he would not suffer me, to go, while the Sandusky warriors were out on war excursions, without a proper escort and himself at my side." He insisted on accompanying me and we set out together. One day, as we were proceeding along, our spies discovered a suspicious track. White Eyes, who was riding before me, enquired whether I felt afraid? I answered that while he was with me, I entertained no fear. On this he immediately replied, "You are right; for until I am laid prostrate at your feet, no one shall hurt you." "And even not then," added Wingenund, who was riding behind me; "before this happens, I must be also overcome, and lay by the side of our friend *Koguethagechton*."† I believed them, and I believe at this day that these great men were sincere, and that if they had been put to the test, they would have shewn it, as did another Indian friend by whom my life was saved in the spring of the year 1781. From behind a log in the bushes where he was concealed, he espied a hostile Indian at the very moment he was levelling his piece at me. Quick as lightning he jumped between us, and exposed his person to the musket shot just about to be fired, when fortunately the aggressor desisted, from fear of hitting the Indian whose body thus effectually protected me, at the imminent risk of his own life. Captain White Eyes, in the year 1774, saved in the same manner the life of David Duncan, the peace-messenger, whom he was escorting. He rushed, regardless of his own life, up to an inimical Shawanese, who was aiming

* See ch. xv. p. 139

† The Indian name of Capt. White Eyes.

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648 at our ambassador from behind a bush, and forced him to desist.

I could enumerate many other similar acts, but I think I have shewn enough for my purpose. Mr. Zelsberger fully agreed with me in the opinion, that it is impossible to deny to the Indians the praise of firm attachment and sincere friendship. It is not meant to say, that all will carry that feeling to the same pitch of heroism; but it is certain that there are many among them, whose strong attachments and a manly pride will induce to risk their lives in the defence of their friends. And, indeed, there is no Indian, who would not blush at being reproached that after boasting that a particular person was his friend, he had acted the coward when his friendship was put to the test, and had shrunk from venturing his own life, when there was even a chance of saving that of the man whom he professed to love.

It is not true, as some have supposed, that an Indian's friendship must be purchased by presents, and that it lasts only so long as gifts continue to be lavished upon them. Their attachments, on the contrary, are perfectly disinterested. I admit that they receive with pleasure a present from a friend's hand. They consider presents as marks of the giver's good disposition towards them. They cannot, in their opinion, proceed from an enemy, and he who befriends them, they think must love them. Obligations to them are not burdensome, they love to acknowledge them, and whatever may be their faults, ingratitude is not among the number.

Indeed, the friendship of an Indian is easily acquired, provided it is sought in good faith. But whoever chooses to obtain it must be sure to treat them on a footing of perfect equality. They are very jealous of the whites, who, they think affect to consider themselves as beings of a superior nature and too often treat them with rude undeserved contempt. This they seldom forgive, while on the

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other hand, they feel flattered when a white man does not disdain to treat them as children of the same Creator. Both reason and humanity concur in teaching us this conduct; but I am sorry to say that reason and humanity are in such cases too little attended to. I hope I may be permitted to expatiate a little on this subject; perhaps it may be beneficial to some white persons hereafter.

The Indians are, as I have already observed before, excellent physiognomists. If they are accosted by or engaged in business with a number of whites, though they may not understand the language that is spoken, they will pretty accurately distinguish by the countenance, those who despise their colour from those who are under the influence of a more generous feeling, and in this they are seldom mistaken. They fix their eyes on the whole party round, and read as it were in the souls of the individuals who compose it. They mark those whom they consider as their friends, and those whom they think to be their enemies, and are sure to remember them ever after. But what must those expect, if a war or some other circumstance should put them into the power of the Indians, who, relying on their supposed ignorance of our idiom, do not scruple even in their presence to apply to them the epithets of *dogs*, *black d—ls*, and the like? Will not these poor people be in some degree justifiable in considering those persons as decidedly hostile to their race? such cases have unfortunately too frequently happened, and the savages have been blamed for treating as enemies those who had so cruelly wounded their most delicate feelings! many white men have been thus put to death, who had brought their fate on themselves by their own imprudence. On the other hand the Indians have not failed to mark those who at the time reprobated such indecent behaviour and reproached their companions for using such improper language. In the midst of war these

572 benevolent Christians have been treated as friends, when
648 perhaps, they had forgotten the humane conduct to which
they were indebted for this kind usage.

Their reasoning in such cases is simple, but to them always conclusive. They merely apply their constant maxim, which I believe I have already noticed, that "good can never proceed from evil or evil from good, and that good and evil, like heterogeneous substances, can never combine or coalesce together." How far this maxim is founded in a profound knowledge of human nature, it is not my business to determine; what is certain is that they adhere to it in almost every occasion. If a person treats them ill, they ascribe it invariably to his bad heart; it is the bad spirit within him that operates; he is, therefore, a bad man. If on the contrary one shews them kindness, they say he is prompted so to act by "the good spirit within him," and that he has a good heart; for if he had not, he would not do good. It is impossible to draw them out of this circle of reasoning, and to persuade them that the friendship shewn to them may be dissembled and proceed from motions of interest; so convinced are they of the truth of their general principle "that good cannot proceed from an evil source."

The conduct of the Europeans towards them, particularly within the last fifty or sixty years, has; however, sufficiently convinced them that men may dissemble, and that kind speeches and even acts of apparent friendship do not always proceed from friendly motives, but that the bad spirit will sometimes lurk under the appearance of the good. Hence, when they speak of the whites in general, they do not scruple to designate them as a false, deceitful race; but it is nevertheless true that with individuals, they frequently forget this general impression, and revert to their own honest principle; and if a white man only behaves to them with common humanity, it is still easy to get access to their simple hearts. Such are those brutes, those savages, from whom, according to

some men, no faith is to be expected, and with whom no faith is to be kept; such are those barbarous nations, as they are called, whom God, nevertheless, made the lawful owners and masters of this beautiful country; but who, at no very remote time, will probably live, partially live, only in its history.

My object in this chapter is to prove that those men are susceptible of the noblest and finest feelings of genuine friendship. It is not enough that by a long residence among them, I have acquired the most complete conviction of this truth; facts and not opinions, I know, are expected from me. Perhaps I might rest satisfied with the proofs that I have already given, but I have only shewn the strength and have yet to display the constancy of their attachments; and although in the story which I am going to relate, a friend was forced to see his friend perish miserably without having it in his power to save him from the most terrible death that vengeance and cruelty could inflict, we shall not be the less astonished to see him persevere in his friendly sentiments, under circumstances of all others the most calculated, (particularly to an Indian) not only to have entirely extinguished, but converted those sentiments into feelings of hatred and revenge.

I am sorry to be so often obliged to revert to the circumstance of the cruel murder of the Christian Indians on the Sandusky River* in the year 1782, by a gang of banditti, under the command of one Williamson. Not satisfied with this horrid outrage, the same band, not long afterwards marched to Sandusky, where it seems they had been informed that the remainder of that unfortunate congregation had fled, in order to perpetrate upon them the same indiscriminate murder. But Providence had so ordered it that they had before left that place, where they had found that they could not remain in safety, their ministers having been taken from them and carried to
[eratum. See cat. 116, p. 348, - Analyst]

* See above, pages 63. 174.

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 Detroit by order of the British government, so that they had been left entirely unprotected. The murderers, on their arrival, were much disappointed in finding nothing but empty huts. They then shaped their course towards the hostile Indian villages, where being, contrary to their expectations, furiously attacked, Williamson and his band took the advantage of a dark night and ran off, and the whole party escaped, except one Colonel Crawford and another, who being taken by the Indians, were carried in triumph to their village, where the former was condemned to death by torture, and the punishment was inflicted with all the cruelty that rage could invent. The latter was demanded by the Shawanese and sent to them for punishment.

While preparations were making for the execution of this dreadful sentence, the unfortunate Crawford recollected that the Delaware chief Wingenund,* of whom I have spoken in the beginning of this chapter, had been his friend in happier times; he had several times entertained him at his house, and shewed him those marks of attention which are so grateful to the poor despised Indians. A ray of hope darted through his soul, and he requested that Wingenund, who lived at some distance from the village, might be sent for. His request was granted, and a messenger was despatched for the chief, who, reluctantly, indeed, but without hesitation, obeyed the summons, and immediately came to the fatal spot.

This great and good man was not only one of the bravest and most celebrated warriors, but one of the most amiable men of the Delaware nation. To a firm undaunted mind, he joined humanity, kindness and universal benevolence; the excellent qualities of his heart had obtained for him the name of *Wingenund*, which in the Lenape language signifies *the well beloved*. He had kept away

* This name, according to the English orthography, should be written *Wingansund* or *Wingaynsund*, the second syllable accented and long, and the last syllable short.

from the tragical scene about to be acted, to mourn in silence and solitude over the fate of his guilty friend, which he well knew it was not in his power to prevent. He was now called upon to act a painful as well as difficult part: the eyes of his enraged countrymen were fixed upon him; he was an Indian and a Delaware; he was a leader of that nation, whose defenceless members had been so cruelly murdered without distinction of age or sex, and whose innocent blood called aloud for the most signal revenge. Could he take the part of a chief of the base murderers? Could he forget altogether the feelings of ancient fellowship and give way exclusively to those of the Indian and the patriot? Fully sensible that in the situation in which he was placed the latter must, in appearance, at least, predominate, he summoned to his aid the firmness and dignity of an Indian warrior, approached Colonel Crawford and waited in silence for the communications he had to make. The following dialogue now took place between them.

CRAWF. Do you recollect me, Wingenund?

WINGEN. I believe I do; are you not Colonel Crawford?

CRAWF. I am. How do you do? I am glad to see you, Captain.

WINGEN. (embarrassed) So! yes, indeed.

CRAWF. Do you recollect the friendship that always existed between us, and that we were always glad to see each other?

WINGEN. I recollect all this. I remember that we have drunk many a bowl of punch together. I remember also other acts of kindness that you have done me.

CRAWF. Then I hope the same friendship still subsists between us.

WINGEN. It would, of course, be the same, were you in your proper place and not here.

CRAWF. And why not here, Captain? I hope you would not desert a friend in time of need. Now is the

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648 time for you to exert yourself in my behalf, as I should do for you, were you in my place.

WINGEN. Colonel Crawford! you have placed yourself in a situation which puts it out of my power and that of others of your friends to do any thing for you.

CRAWF. How so, Captain Wingenund?

WINGEN. By joining yourself to that execrable man, Williamson and his party; the man, who, but the other day murdered such a number of the Moravian Indians, knowing them to be friends; knowing that he ran no risk in murdering a people who would not fight, and whose only business was praying.

CRAWF. Wingenund, I assure you, that had I been with him at the time, this would not have happened; not I alone but all your friends and all good men, wherever they are, reprobate acts of this kind.

WINGEN. That may be; yet these friends, these good men did not prevent him from going out again, to kill the remainder of those inoffensive, yet foolish Moravian Indians! I say foolish, because they believed the whites in preference to us. We had often told them that they would be one day so treated by those people who called themselves their friends! We told them that there was no faith to be placed in what the white men said; that their fair promises were only intended to allure us, that they might the more easily kill us, as they have done many Indians before they killed these Moravians.

CRAWF. I am sorry to hear you speak thus; as to Williamson's going out again, when it was known that he was determined on it, I went out with him to prevent him from committing fresh murders.

WINGEN. This, Colonel, the Indians would not believe, were even I to tell them so.

CRAWF. And why would they not believe it?

WINGEN. Because it would have been out of your power to prevent his doing what he pleased.

CRAWF. Out of my power! Have any Moravian Indians been killed or hurt since we came out?

WINGEN. None; but you went first to their town, and finding it empty and deserted you turned on the path towards us? If you had been in search of warriors only, you would not have gone thither. Our spies watched you closely. They saw you while you were embodying yourselves on the other side of the Ohio; they saw you cross that river; they saw where you encamped at night; they saw you turn off from the path to the deserted Moravian town; they knew you were going out of your way; your steps were constantly watched, and you were suffered quietly to proceed until you reached the spot where you were attacked.

CRAWF. What do they intend to do with me? Can you tell me?

WINGEN. I tell you with grief, Colonel. As Williamson and his whole cowardly host, ran off in the night at the whistling of our warrior's balls, being satisfied that now he had no Moravians to deal with, but men who could fight, and with such he did not wish to have any thing to do; I say, as he escaped, and they have taken you, they will take revenge on you in his stead.

CRAWF. And is there no possibility of preventing this? Can you devise no way to get me off? You shall, my friend, be well rewarded if you are instrumental in saving my life.

WINGEN. Had Williamson been taken with you, I and some friends, by making use of what you have told me, might perhaps, have succeeded to save you, but as the matter now stands, no man would dare to interfere in your behalf. The king of England himself, were he to come to this spot, with all his wealth and treasures could not effect this purpose. The blood of the innocent Moravians, more than half of them women and children, cruelly and wantonly murdered calls aloud for revenge. The relatives of the slain, who are among us, cry out and stand ready for revenge. The nation to which they belonged will have revenge. The Shawanese, our grand-

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648 children, have asked for your fellow prisoner ; on him they will take revenge. All the nations connected with us cry out *Revenge! revenge!* The Moravians whom you went to destroy having fled, instead of avenging their brethren, the offence is become national, and the nation itself is bound to take REVENGE!

CRAWF. Then it seems my fate is decided, and I must prepare to meet death in its worst form?

WINGEN. Yes, Colonel!—I am sorry for it ; but cannot do any thing for you. Had you attended to the Indian principle, that as good and evil cannot dwell together in the same heart, so a good man ought not to go into evil company ; you would not be in this lamentable situation. You see, now, when it is too late, after Williamson has deserted you, what a bad man he must be! Nothing now remains for you but to meet your fate like a brave man. Farewel, Colonel Crawford! they are coming ;* I will retire to a solitary spot.

I have been assured by respectable Indians that at the close of this conversation, which was related to me by Wingenund himself as well as by others, both he and Crawford burst into a flood of tears ; they then took an affectionate leave of each other, and the chief immediately *hid himself in the bushes*, as the Indians express it, or in his own language, retired to a solitary spot. He never, afterwards, spoke of the fate of his unfortunate friend without strong emotions of grief, which I have several times witnessed. Once, it was the first time that he came into Detroit after Crawford's sufferings, I heard him censured in his own presence by some gentlemen who were standing together for not having saved the life of so valuable a man, who was also his particular friend, as he had often told them. He listened calmly to their censure, and first turning to me, said in his own language : "These men talk like fools," then turning to

* The people were at that moment advancing, with shouts and yells, to torture and put him to death.

them, he replied in English: "If king George himself, 572
"If your king had been on the spot with all his ships 648
"laden with goods and treasures, he could not have ran-
"somed my friend, nor saved his life from the rage of a
"justly exasperated multitude." He made no further
allusion to the act that had been the cause of Crawford's
death, and it was easy to perceive that on this melancholy
subject, grief was the feeling that predominated in his
mind. He felt much hurt, however, at this unjust
accusation, from men who, perhaps, he might think,
would have acted very differently in his place. For,
let us consider in what a situation he found himself;
at that trying and critical moment. He was a Dela-
ware Indian and a highly distinguished character among
his nation. The offence was national, and of the most
atrocious kind, as it was wanton and altogether unpro-
voked. He might have been expected to partake with
all the rest of his countrymen in the strong desire which
they felt for revenge. He had been Crawford's friend,
it is true, and various acts of sociability and friendship
had been interchanged between them. But, no doubt, at
that time, he believed him, at least, not to be an enemy,
to his nation and colour, and if he was an enemy, he
might have expected him to be, like himself, a fair, open
generous foe. But when he finds him enlisted with those
who are waging a war of extermination against the In-
dian race, murdering in cold blood, and without distinc-
tion of age or sex, even those who had united their fate
to that of the whites, and had said to the Christians:
"Your people shall be our people, and your God our
"God,"* was there not enough here to make him disbe-
lieve all the former professions of such a man, and to
turn his abused friendship into the most violent enmity
and the bitterest rage. Instead of this we see him per-
severing to the last in his attachment to a person, who,
to say the least, had ceased to be deserving of it; we see
him in the face of his enraged countrymen avow that

* Ruth, i. 16.

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friendship, careless of the jealousy that he might excite; we see him not only abstain from participating in the national revenge, but deserting his post, as it were, seek a solitary spot to bewail the death of him, whom, in spite of all, he still loved, and felt not ashamed to call his friend.

It is impossible for friendship to be put to a severer test, and the example of Wingenund proves how deep a root this sentiment can take in the mind of an Indian, when even such circumstances as those under which the chief found himself, fail to extinguish it.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PREACHERS AND PROPHETS.

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THERE was a time when the preachers and prophets of the Indians, by properly exerting the unbounded influence which the popular superstitions gave them, might have excited among those nations such a spirit of general resistance against the encroachments of the Europeans, as would have enabled them, at least, to make a noble stand against their invaders, and perhaps to recover the undisturbed possession of their country. Instead of following the obvious course which reason and nature pointed out; instead of uniting as one nation in defence of their natural rights, they gave ear to the artful insinuations of their enemies, who too well understood the art of sowing unnatural divisions among them. It was not until Canada, after repeated struggles, was finally conquered from the French by the united arms of Great Bri-

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tain and her colonies, that they began to be sensible of their desperate situation—this whole northern continent being now in the possession of one great and powerful nation, against whom it was vain to attempt resistance. Yet it was at this moment that their prophets, impelled by ambitious motives, began to endeavour by their eloquence to bring them back to independent feelings, and create among them a genuine national spirit; but it was too late. The only rational resource that remained for them to prevent their total annihilation was to adopt the religion and manners of their conquerors, and abandon savage life for the comforts of civilised society; but of this but a few of them were sensible; in vain Missionaries were sent among them, who, through the greatest hardships and dangers exerted themselves to soften their misfortunes by the consolations of the Christian faith, and to point out to them the way of salvation in this world and the next; the banner of Christ was comparatively followed but by small numbers, and these were persecuted by their friends, or, at least, those who ought to have been such, as well as by their enemies. Among the obstacles which the Missionaries encountered, the strong opposition which was made to them by the prophets of the Indian nations was by no means the least. 648

I have known several of these preachers and prophets during my residence in the Indian country, and have had sufficient opportunities to observe the means which they took to operate on the minds of their hearers. I shall content myself with taking notice here of a few of the most remarkable among them. 792 668

In the year 1762, there was a famous preacher of the Delaware nation, who resided at *Cayahaga*, near Lake Erie, and travelled about the country, among the Indians, endeavouring to persuade them that he had been appointed by the great Spirit to instruct them in those things that were agreeable to him, and point out to them the offences by which they had drawn his displeasure on

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son is present, or even accidentally comes by before the skin is taken off, he presents it to him, saying, "Friend, "skin your deer," and immediately walks off. William Wells, whom I have before spoken of, once paid me this compliment, and when I asked him the reason, he answered that it was the custom among the Indians on the Wabash. 171
[224]

In the year 1792, I travelled with a number of Indian chiefs of various tribes from Post Vincennes to Marietta, and I found in most instances that their usages and customs were the same that I had observed among the Delawares.

The Indians in general, although they understand and speak our language, yet prefer speaking to a white man through an interpreter. For this they give various reasons. With some it is a matter of pride; as their chiefs deliver their public speeches through interpreters, they think that they appear with more dignity when they do the same. Others imagine that their words will have greater weight and effect when expressed in proper grammatical language, while some are afraid of committing mistakes when speaking in an idiom not their own. Particularly when they have a joke to pass, a hint to give, or a shrewd remark to make, they wish it to have all the advantages of a good translation, and that their wit may not be spoiled by a foreign accent, improper expression, or awkward delivery. 648
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Though the Indian is naturally serious, he does not dislike a jest on proper occasions, and will, sometimes even descend to a pun. Once at a dinner given at Marietta by the late colonel Sproat, to a number of gentlemen and Indian chiefs of various tribes, a Delaware chief, named George Washington, asked me what the name of our good friend, the Colonel, meant in the Lenape language? It should be observed that Colonel Sproat was remarkably tall. I told him that *Sprout* (for so the name is pronounced) meant in English a shoot, or twig of a 522

522 tree. "No, no," replied the Indian, "no shoot or twig,
"but the tree itself."

648 I have spoken before* of the wit of the Indians, and
609 the shrewd and pointed remarks which they occasionally
make, but passed rather lightly on the subject. A few
characteristic anecdotes will best supply this deficiency.

An Indian who spoke good English, came one day to a house where I was on business, and desired me to ask a man who was there and who owed him some money, to give an order in writing for him to get a little salt at the store, which he would take in part payment of his debt. The man, after reproving the Indian for speaking through an interpreter when he could speak such good English, told him that he must call again in an hour's time, for he was then too much engaged. The Indian went out and returned at the appointed time, when he was put off again for another hour, and when he came the third time, the other told him he was still engaged and he must come again in half an hour. My Indian friend's patience was now exhausted, he turned to me and addressed me thus in his own language: "Tell this man," said he, "that while I have been waiting for his con-
"nience to give me an order for a little salt, I have had
"time to think a great deal. I thought that when we
"Indians want any thing of one another, we serve each
"other on the spot, or if we cannot, we say so at once,
"but we never say to any one 'call again! call again!
"call again! three times call again!' Therefore when
"this man put me off in this manner, I thought that, to
"be sure, the white people were very ingenious, and
"probably he was able to do what no body else could.
"I thought that as it was afternoon when I first came,
"and he knew I had seven miles to walk to reach my
"camp, he had it in his power to stop the sun in
"its course, until it suited him to give me the order that I
"wanted for a little salt. So thought I, I shall still have
"day light enough, I shall reach my camp before night,

* Ch. 6. p. 88.

"and shall not be obliged to walk in the dark, at the
"risk of falling and hurting myself by the way. But
"when I saw that the sun did not wait for him, and I
"had at least to walk seven miles in an obscure night, I
"thought then, that it would be better if the white people
"were to learn something of the Indians." 648 609

I once asked an old Indian acquaintance of mine, who
had come with his wife to pay me a visit, where he had
been, that I had not seen him for a great while? "Don't
"you know," he answered, "that the white people some
"time ago summoned us to a treaty, to buy land of
"them?"—"That is true," replied I, "I had indeed for-
"gotten it; I thought you was just returned from your
"fall hunt."—"No, no," replied the Indian, "my fall
"hunt has been lost to me this season; I had to go and
"get my share of the purchase money for the land we
"sold."—"Well then," said I, "I suppose you got
"enough to satisfy you?" 648

INDIAN. "I can shew you all that I got. I have recei-
"ved such and such articles, (naming them and the
"quantity of each), do you think that is enough?"

HECKEW. "That I cannot know, unless you tell me
"how much of the land which was sold came to your
"share."

INDIAN. (after considering a little) "Well, you, my
"friend! know who I am, you know I am a kind of chief.
"I am, indeed, one, though none of the greatest. Nei-
"ther am I one of the lowest grade, but I stand about in
"the middle rank. Now, as such, I think I was enti-
"tled to as much land in the tract we sold as would lie
"within a day's walk from this spot to a point due
"north, then a day's walk from that point to another
"due west, from thence another day's walk due south,
"then a day's walk to where we now are. Now you
"can tell me if what I have shewn you is enough for all
"the land lying between these four marks?"

HECKEW. "If you have made your bargain so with
9 [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

• 648 "the white people, it is all right, and you probably have
"received your share."

INDIAN. "Ah! but the white people made the bar-
"gain by themselves, without consulting us. They told
"us that they would give us so much, and no more."

HECKEW. "Well, and you consented thereto?"

INDIAN. "What could we do, when they told us that
"they must have the land, and for such a price? Was
"it not better to take something than nothing? for they
"would have the land, and so we took what they gave
"us."

HECKEW. "Perhaps the goods they gave you came
"high in price. The goods which come over the great
"salt water lake sometimes vary in their prices."

INDIAN. "The traders sell their goods for just the
"same prices that they did before, so that I rather think
"it is the land that has fallen in value. We, Indians,
"do not understand selling lands to the white people;
"for, when we sell, the price of land is always low; land
"is then cheap, but when the white people sell it out
"among themselves, it is always dear, and they are sure
"to get a high price for it. I had done much better if
"I had staid at home and minded my fall hunt. You
"know I am a pretty good hunter and might have killed
"a great many deer, sixty, eighty, perhaps a hundred,
"and besides caught many racoons, beavers, otters,
"wild cats, and other animals, while I was at this treaty.
"I have often killed five, six, and seven deer in one day.
"Now I have lost nine of the best hunting weeks in the
"season by going to get what you see! We were told
"the precise time when we must meet. We came at the
"very day, but the great white men did not do so, and
"without them nothing could be done. When after some
"weeks they at last came, we traded, we sold our lands
"and received goods in payment, and when that was over,
"I went to my hunting grounds, but the best time, the
"rutting time, being over, I killed but a few. Now, help

"me to count up what I have lost by going to the treaty. 648
"Put down eighty deer; say twenty of them were bucks,
"each buckskin one dollar; then sixty does and young
"bucks at two skins for a dollar; thirty dollars, and
"twenty for the old bucks, make fifty dollars lost to me
"in deer skins. Add, then, twenty dollars more to this
"for racoon, beaver, wild cat, black fox, and otter
"skins, and what does the whole amount to?"

HECKEW. "Seventy dollars."

INDIAN. "Well, let it be only seventy dollars, but
"how much might I have bought of the traders for this
"money! How well we might have lived, I and my fa-
"mily in the woods during that time! How much meat
"would my wife have dried! how much tallow saved
"and sold or exchanged for salt, flour, tea and choco-
"late! All this is now lost to us; and had I not such a 593
"good wife (stroking her under the chin) who planted
"so much corn, and so many beans, pumpkins, squashes,
"and potatoes last summer, my family would now live
"most wretchedly. I have learned to be wise by going
"to treaties, I shall never go there again to sell my land
"and lose my time."

I shall conclude this desultory chapter with another 461
anecdote which is strongly characteristic of the good sense
of the Indians, and shews how much their minds are ca-
pable of thought and reflection.

Seating myself once upon a log, by the side of an In-
dian, who was resting himself there, being at that time
actively employed in fencing in his corn field, I observed
to him that he must be very fond of working, as I never
saw him idling away his time, as is so common with the
Indians. The answer which he returned made conside-
rable impression on my mind; I have remembered it ever
since, and I shall try to relate it as nearly in his own
words as possible.

"My friend!" said he, "the fishes in the water and the
"birds in the air and on the earth have taught me to

But if the Indians, after all, are really those horrid 648●
monsters which they are alleged to be, two solemn serious questions have often occurred to my mind, to which I wish the partisans of that doctrine would give equally serious answers.

1. Can civilised nations, can nations which profess Christianity, be justified in employing people of that description to aid them in fighting their battles against their enemies, Christians like themselves?

2. When such nations offer up their prayers to the throne of the most High, supplicating the divine Majesty to grant success to their arms, can they, ought they to expect that those prayers will be heard?

I have done. Let me only be permitted, in conclusion, to express my firm belief, the result of much attentive observation and long experience while living among the Indians, that if we would only observe towards them the first and most important precept of our holy religion, "to do to others as we would be done to;" if instead of employing them to fight our battles, we encouraged them to remain at peace with us and with each other, they might easily be brought to a state of civilisation, and become CHRISTIANS.

I still indulge the hope that this work will be accomplished by a wise and benevolent government. Thus we shall demonstrate the falsity of the prediction of the Indian prophets, who say: "That when the whites shall have ceased killing the red men, and got all their lands from them, the great tortoise which bears this island upon his back, shall dive down into the deep and drown them all, as he once did before, a great many years ago; and that when he again rises, the Indians shall once more be put in possession of the whole country."

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1. What is the name of your tribe? Is it its original name; if not, how was it formerly called? 124
2. Have you a tradition of your lineal descent as a nation or tribe?
3. To what tribes are you related by blood, and where do they reside?
4. What is your character or rank in the national family?
5. Which among the tribes connected with you is that which you call *grandfather*?
6. Where is the great council fire of all the nations or tribes connected with yours?
7. How do you address the chiefs and council of such a nation or tribe?
8. What is the badge of your tribe?

From these and other similar questions, much valuable information will probably result. The nation whom another tribe calls *grandfather*, is certainly the head of the family to which they both belong. At his door burns the "great national council fire," or, in other words, at the place where he resides with his counsellors, as the great or supreme chief of the national family, the heads of the tribes in the connexion occasionally assemble to deliberate on their common interests; any tribe may have a council fire of its own, but cannot dictate to the other tribes, nor compel any of them to take up the hatchet against an enemy; neither can they conclude a peace for the whole; this power entirely rests with the great national chief, who presides at the council fire of their *grandfather*. 648●

Indian nations or tribes connected with each other are not always connected by blood or descended from the same original stock. Some are admitted into the connexion by adoption. Such are the Tuscaroras among the Six Nations; such the Cherokees among the Lenni Lenape. Thus, in the year 1779, a deputation of fourteen men came from the Cherokee nation to the council

648 fire of the Delawares, to condole with their *grandfather* on the loss of their head chief. There are tribes, on the other hand, who have wandered far from the habitations of those connected with them by blood or relationship. It is certain that they can no longer be benefited by the general council fire. They, therefore, become a people by themselves, and pass with us for a separate nation, if they only have a name; nevertheless, (if I am rightly informed) they well know to what stock or nation they originally belonged, and if questioned on that subject, will give correct answers. It is therefore very important to make these enquiries of any tribe or nation that a traveller may find himself among. The analogy of languages is the best and most unequivocal sign of connexion between Indian tribes; yet the absence of that indication should not always be relied upon.

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124 It may not be improper also to mention in this place that the purity or correctness with which a language is spoken, will greatly help to discover who is the head of the national family. For no where is the language so much cultivated as in the vicinity of the great national council fire, where the orators have the best opportunity of displaying their talents. Thus the purest and most elegant dialect of the Lenape language, is that of the Unami or Turtle tribe.

are neither reasons nor positive facts. I am not prepared to enter into a discussion with you on the comparative merits or demerits of the Indians and whites; for I am unskilled in argument, and profess only to be a plain *matter of fact* man. To facts, therefore, I will appeal. I admit that the Indians have sometimes revenged, cruelly revenged, the accumulated wrongs which they have suffered from unprincipled white men; the love of revenge is a strong passion which their imperfect religious notions have not taught them to subdue. But how often have they been the aggressors in the unequal contests which they have had to sustain with the invaders of their country? In how many various shapes have they not been excited and their passions roused to the utmost fury by acts of cruelty and injustice on the part of the whites, who have made afterwards the country ring with their complaints against the lawless savages, who had not the means of being heard in their defence? I shall not pursue these questions any farther, but let the facts that I am going to relate speak for themselves.

648 In the summer of the year 1763, some friendly Indians from a distant place, came to Bethlehem to dispose of their peltry for manufactured goods and necessary implements of husbandry. Returning home well satisfied, they put up the first night at a tavern, eight miles distant from this place.* The landlord not being at home, his wife took the liberty of encouraging the people who frequented her house for the sake of drinking to abuse those Indians, adding, "That she would freely give a gallon of rum to any one of them that should kill one of these black d——ls." Other white people from the neighbourhood came in during the night, who also drank freely, made a great deal of noise, and increased

* This relation is authentic; I have received it from the mouth of the chief of the injured party, and his statement was confirmed by communications made at the time by two respectable magistrates of the county.

the fears of those poor Indians, who, for the greatest part, understanding English, could not but suspect that something bad was intended against their persons. They were not, however, otherwise disturbed: but in the morning, when, after a restless night they were preparing to set off, they found themselves robbed of some of the most valuable articles they had purchased, and on mentioning this to a man who appeared to be the bar-keeper, they were ordered to leave the house. Not being willing to lose so much property, they retired to some distance into the woods, where, some of them remaining with what was left them, the others returned to Bethlehem and lodged their complaint with a justice of the peace. The magistrate gave them a letter to the landlord, pressing him without delay to restore to the Indians the goods that had been taken from them. But behold! when they delivered that letter to the people at the inn, they were told in answer: "that if they set any value on their lives, they must make off with themselves immediately." They well understood that they had no other alternative, and prudently departed without having received back any of their goods. Arrived at Nescopeck on the Susquehannah, they fell in with some other Delawares, who had been treated much in the same manner, one of them having had his rifle stolen from him. Here the two parties agreed to take revenge in their own way, for those insults and robberies for which they could obtain no redress; and that they determined to do as soon as war should be again declared by their nation against the English.

Scarcely had these Indians retired, when in another place, about fourteen miles distant from the former, one man, two women and a child, all quiet Indians, were murdered in a most wicked and barbarous manner, by drunken militia officers and their men, for the purpose of getting their horse and the goods they had just purchas-

648 ed.* One of the women, falling on her knees, begged in vain for the life of herself and her child, while the other woman, seeing what was doing, made her escape to the barn, where she endeavoured to hide herself on the top of the grain. She however was discovered, and inhumanly thrown down on the threshing floor with such force that her brains flew out.

Here, then, were insults, robberies and murders, all committed within the short space of three months, unatoned for and unrevenged. There was no prospect of obtaining redress; the survivors were therefore obliged to seek some other means to obtain revenge. They did so; the Indians, already exasperated against the English in consequence of repeated outrages, and considering the nation as responsible for the injuries which it did neither prevent nor punish, and for which it did not even offer to make any kind of reparation, at last declared war, and then the injured parties were at liberty to redress themselves for the wrongs they had suffered. They immediately started against the objects of their hatred, and finding their way, unseen and undiscovered, to the inn which had been the scene of the first outrage, they attacked it at day break, fired into it on the people within, who were lying in their beds. Strange to relate! the murderers of the man, two women, and child, were among them. They were mortally wounded, and died of their wounds shortly afterwards. The Indians, after leaving this house, murdered by accident an innocent family, having mistaken the house that they meant to attack, after which they returned to their homes.

Now a violent hue and cry was raised against the Indians—no language was too bad, no crimes too black to brand them with. No faith was to be placed in those savages; treaties with them were of no effect; they ought to be cut off from the face of the earth! Such was the

* Justice Geiger's letter to Justice Horsfield proves this fact.

language at that time in every body's mouth ; the newspapers were filled with accounts of the cruelties of the Indians, a variety of false reports were circulated in order to rouse the people against them, while they, the really injured party, having no printing presses among them, could not make known the story of their grievances. 648●

"No faith can be placed in what the Indians promise at treaties ; for scarcely is a treaty concluded than they are again murdering us." Such is our complaint against these unfortunate people ; but they will tell you that it is the white men in whom no faith is to be placed. They will tell you, that there is not a single instance in which the whites have not violated the engagements that they had made at treaties. They say that when they had ceded lands to the white people, and boundary lines had been established—"firmly established!" beyond which no whites were to settle ; scarcely was the treaty signed, when white intruders again were settling and hunting on their lands ! It is true that when they preferred their complaints to the government, the government gave them many fair promises and assured them that men would be sent to remove the intruders by force from the usurped lands. The men, indeed, came, but with chain and compass in their hands, taking surveys of the tracts of good land, which the intruders, from their knowledge of the country, had pointed out to them !

What was then to be done, when those intruders would not go off from the land, but, on the contrary, increased in numbers ? "Oh!" said those people, (and I have myself frequently heard this language in the Western country,) "a new treaty will soon give us all this land ; no thing is now wanting but a pretence to pick a quarrel with them !" Well, but in what manner is this quarrel to be brought about ? A *David Owen*, a *Walker*, and many others, might, if they were alive, easily answer this question. A precedent, however, may be found, on perusing Mr. Jefferson's Appendix to his Notes on Vir-

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ginia. On all occasions, when the object is to murder Indians, strong liquor is the main article required; for when you have them dead drunk, you may do to them as you please, without running the risk of losing your life. And should you find that the laws of your country may reach you where you are, you have only to escape or conceal yourself for a while, until the storm has blown over! I well recollect the time when thieves and murderers of Indians fled from impending punishment across the Susquehannah, where they considered themselves safe; on which account this river had the name given to it of "*the rogue's river*." I have heard other rivers called by similar names.

In the year 1742, the Reverend Mr. Whitefield offered the Nazareth Manor (as it was then called) for sale to the United Brethren. He had already begun to build upon it a spacious stone house, intended as a school house for the education of negro children. The Indians, in the meanwhile, loudly exclaimed against the white people for settling in this part of the country, which had not yet been legally purchased of them, but, as they said, had been obtained by fraud.* The Brethren declined purchasing any lands on which the Indian title had not been properly extinguished, wishing to live in peace with all the Indians around them. Count Zinzendorff happened at that time to arrive in the country; he found that the agents of the proprietors would not pay to the Indians the price which they asked for that tract of land; he paid them out of his private purse the whole of the demand which they made in the height of their ill temper, and moreover gave them permission to abide on the land, at their village, (where, by the bye, they had a fine large peach orchard) as long as they should think proper. But among those white men, who afterwards came and settled in the neighbourhood of their tract, there

* Alluding to what was at that time known by the name of the *long day's walk*.

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were some who were enemies to the Indians, and a young Irishman, without cause or provocation, murdered their good and highly respected chief *Tudemi*,* a man of such an easy and friendly address, that he could not but be loved by all who knew him. This, together with the threats of other persons, ill disposed towards them, was the cause of their leaving their settlement on this manor, and removing to places of greater safety. 648 •

It is true, that when flagrant cases of this description occurred, the government, before the revolution, issued proclamations offering rewards for apprehending the offenders, and in later times, since the country has become more thickly settled, those who had been guilty of such offences were brought before the tribunals to take their trials. But these formalities have proved of little avail. In the first case, the criminals were seldom, if ever, apprehended; in the second, no jury could be found to convict them; for it was no uncommon saying among many of the men of whom juries in the frontier countries were commonly composed, that no man should be put to death for killing an Indian; for it was the same thing as killing a wild beast!

But what shall I say of the conduct of the British agents, or deputy agents, or by whatsoever other name they may be called, who, at the commencement of the American revolution, openly excited the Indians to kill and destroy all the rebels without distinction? "Kill all the rebels," they would say, "put them all to death, and spare none." A veteran chief of the Wyandot nation, who resided near Detroit, observed to one of them that surely it was meant that they should kill men only, and not women and children. "No, no," was the answer, "kill all, destroy all; *nits breed lice!*" The brave veteran† was so disgusted with this reply, that he refused to go out at all; wishing however to see and 648
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* See above, p. 300.

† The same of whom I have spoken above, p. 160.

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727 converse with his old brother soldiers of the Delaware nation, with whom he had fought against the English in the French war, he took the command of a body of ninety chosen men, and being arrived at the seat of the government of the Delawares, on the Muskingum, he freely communicated to his old comrades (among whom was Glikhican, whom I shall presently have occasion further to mention) what had taken place, and what he had resolved on; saying that he never would be guilty of killing women and children; that this was the first and would be the last of his going out this war; that in ten days they should see him come back with one prisoner only, no scalp to a pole, and no life lost. He kept his word. The sixteen chiefs under him, from respect and principle, agreed to all his proposals and wishes.

How different the conduct of the Indians from that of their inhuman employers! I have already related the noble speech of Captain Pipe to the British Commandant at Detroit, and I have done justice to the character of that brave officer, who surely ought not to be confounded with those Indian agents that I have spoken of. But what said Pipe to him? "Innocence had no part in your quarrels; and therefore I distinguished—I spared. Father! I hope you will not destroy what I have saved!"* I have also told the conduct of the two young spirited Delawares† who saved the life of the venerable Missionary Zeisberger, at the risk of their own. But it is not only against their own people that Indians have afforded their protection to white men, but against the whites themselves.

In the course of the revolutionary war, in which (as in all civil commotions) brother was seen fighting against brother, and friend against friend, a party of Indian warriors, with whom one of those white men, who, under colour of attachment to their king, indulged in every sort of crimes, was going out against the settlers on the Ohio,

* See above, pp. 123, 124.

† Above, p. 274.

to kill and destroy as they had been ordered. The chief of the expedition had given strict orders not to molest any of the white men who lived with their friends the Christian Indians; yet, as they passed near a settlement of these converts, the white man, unmindful of the orders he had received, attempted to shoot two of the Missionaries who were planting potatoes in their field, and though the Captain warned him to desist, he still obstinately persisted in his attempt. The chief, in anger, immediately took his gun from him, and kept him under guard until they had reached a considerable distance from the place. I have received this account from the chief himself, who on his return sent word to the Missionaries that they would do well not to go far from home, as they were in too great danger from the white people. 648 727

Another white man of the same description, whom I well knew, related with a kind of barbarous exultation, on his return to Detroit from a war excursion with the Indians in which he had been engaged, that the party with which he was, having taken a woman prisoner who had a sucking babe at her breast, he tried to persuade the Indians to kill the child, lest its cries should discover the place where they were; the Indians were unwilling to commit the deed, on which the white man at once jumped up, tore the child from its mother's arms, and taking it by the legs dashed its head against a tree, so that the brains flew out all around. The monster in relating this story said "The little dog all the time was making wee!" He added, that if he were sure that his old father, who some time before had died in Old Virginia, would, if he had lived longer, have turned rebel, he would go all the way into Virginia, raise the body, and take off his scalp!

Let us now contrast with this the conduct of the Indians. Carver tells us in his travels with what moderation, humanity and delicacy they treat female prisoners,

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727 and particularly pregnant women.* I refer the reader to the following fact, as an instance of their conduct in such cases. If his admiration is excited by the behaviour of the Indians, I doubt not that his indignation will be raised in an equal degree by that of a white man who unfortunately acts a part in the story.

A party of Delawares, in one of their excursions during the revolutionary war, took a white female prisoner. The Indian chief, after a march of several days, observed that she was ailing, and was soon convinced (for she was far advanced in her pregnancy) that the time of her delivery was near. He immediately made a halt on the bank of a stream, where at a proper distance from the encampment, he built for her a close hut of peeled barks, gathered dry grass and fern to make her a bed, and placed a blanket at the opening of the dwelling as a substitute for a door. He then kindled a fire, placed a pile of wood near it to feed it occasionally, and placed a kettle of water at hand where she might easily use it. He then took her into her little infirmary, gave her Indian medicines, with directions how to use them, and told her to rest easy and she might be sure that nothing should disturb her. Having done this, he returned to his men, forbade them from making any noise, or disturbing the sick woman in any manner, and told them that he himself should guard her during the night. He did so, and the whole night kept watch before her door, walking backward and forward, to be ready at her call at any moment, in case of extreme necessity. The night passed quietly, but in the morning, as he was walking by on the bank of the stream, seeing him through the crevices, she called to him and presented her babe. The good chief, with tears in his eyes, rejoiced at her safe delivery; he told her not to be uneasy, that he should lay by for a few days and would soon bring her some nourishing food, and some medicines to take. Then going to his encamp-

* Carver's Travels, ch. 9. p. 196. Edit. above cited.

ment, he ordered all his men to go out a hunting, and remained himself to guard the camp. 698 ●

Now for the reverse of the picture. Among the men 727
whom this chief had under his command, was one of those white vagabonds whom I have before described. The captain was much afraid of him, knowing him to be a bad man; and as he had expressed a great desire to go a hunting with the rest, he believed him gone, and entertained no fears for the woman's safety. But it was not long before he was undeceived. While he was gone to a small distance to dig roots for his poor patient, he heard her cries, and running with speed to her hut, he was informed by her that the white man had threatened to take her life if she did not immediately throw her child into the river. The captain, enraged at the cruelty of this man, and the liberty he had taken with his prisoner, hailed him as he was running off, and told him "That the moment he should miss the child, the tomohawk should be in his head." After a few days this humane chief placed the woman carefully on a horse, and they went together to the place of their destination, the mother and child doing well. I have heard him relate this story, to which he added, that whenever he should go out on an excursion, he never would suffer a white man to be of his party.

Yet I must acknowledge that I have known an Indian chief who had been guilty of the crime of killing the child of a female prisoner. It was Glikhican, of whom I have before spoken, as one of the friends of the brave Wyandot who expressed so much horror at the order given to him by the Indian agents to murder women and children.* In the year 1770, he joined the congregation of the Christian Indians; the details of his conversion are related at large by Lookiel in his History of the Missions.† Before that time he had been conspicuous as a warrior and a counsellor, and in oratory it is said he

* See above, p. 328.

† Lookiel, p. 3. ch. 3.

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never was surpassed. This man, having joined the French, in the year 1754, or 1755, in their war against the English, and being at that time out with a party of Frenchmen, took, among other prisoners, a young woman, named *Rachel Abbott*, from the Conegocheague settlement, who had at her breast a sucking babe. The incessant cries of the child, the hurry to get off, but above all, the persuasions of his white companions, induced him, much against his inclination, to kill the innocent creature; while the mother, in an agony of grief, and her face suffused with tears, begged that its life might be spared. The woman, however, was brought safe to the Ohio, where she was kindly treated and adopted, and some years afterwards was married to a Delaware chief of respectability, by whom she had several children, who are now living with the Christian Indians in Upper Canada.

Glikhican never forgave himself for having committed this crime, although many times, and long before his becoming a Christian, he had begged the woman's pardon with tears in his eyes, and received her free and full forgiveness. In vain she pointed out to him all the circumstances that he could have alleged to excuse the deed; in vain she reminded him of his unwillingness at the time, and his having been in a manner compelled to it by his French associates; nothing that she did say could assuage his sorrow or quiet the perturbation of his mind; he called himself a wretch, a monster, a coward (the proud feelings of an Indian must be well understood to judge of the force of this self-accusation), and to the moment of his death the remembrance of this fatal act preyed like a canker worm upon his spirits. I ought to add, that from the time of his conversion he lived the life of a Christian, and died as such.

The Indians are cruel to their enemies!—In some cases they are, but perhaps not more so than white men have sometimes shewn themselves. There have been in-

stances of white men slaying or taking off the skin of Indians who had fallen into their hands, then tanning those skins or cutting them in pieces, making them up into razor-straps, and exposing those for sale, as was done at or near Pittsburg sometime during the revolutionary war. Those things are abominations in the eyes of the Indians, who, indeed, when strongly excited, inflict torments on their prisoners and put them to death by cruel tortures, but never are guilty of acts of barbarity in cold blood. Neither do the Delawares and some other Indian nations, ever on any account disturb the ashes of the dead.

The custom of torturing prisoners is of ancient date, and was first introduced as a trial of courage. I have been told, however, that among some tribes it has never been in use; but it must be added that those tribes gave no quarter. The Delawares accuse the Iroquois, of having been the inventors of this piece of cruelty, and charge them further with eating the flesh of their prisoners after the torture was over. Be this as it may, there are now but few instances of prisoners being put to death in this manner.

Rare as these barbarous executions now are, I have reason to believe that they would be still less frequent, if proper pains were taken to turn the Indians away from this heathenish custom. Instead of this, it is but too true that they have been excited to cruelty by unprincipled white men, who have joined in their war-feasts and even added to the barbarity of the scene. Can there be a more brutal act than, after furnishing those savages, as they are called, with implements of war and destruction, to give them an ox to kill and to roast whole, to dance the war dance with them round the slaughtered animal, strike at him, stab him, telling the Indians at the same time: "Strike, stab! Thus you must do to your enemy!" Then taking a piece of the meat and tearing it with their teeth: "So you must eat his flesh!" and

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[727] sucking up the juices: "Thus you must drink his blood!" and at last devour the whole as wolves do a carcass. This is what is known to have been done by some of those Indian agents that I have mentioned.

Is this possible? the reader will naturally exclaim. Yes, it is possible, and every Indian warrior will tell you that it is true. It has come to me from so many-credible sources that I am forced to believe it. How can the Indians now be reproached with acts of cruelty to which they have been excited by those who pretended to be Christians and civilised men, but who were worse savages than those whom, no doubt, they were ready to brand with that name.

When hostile governments give directions to employ the Indians against their enemies, they surely do not know that such is the manner in which their orders are to be executed; but let me tell them and every government who will descend to employing these auxiliaries, that this is the only way in which their subaltern agents will and can proceed to make their aid effectual. The Indians are not fond of interfering in quarrels not their own, and will not fight with spirit for the mere sake of a livelihood which they can obtain in a more agreeable manner by hunting and their other ordinary occupations. Their passions must be excited, and that is not easily done when they themselves have not received any injury from those against whom they are desired to fight. Behold, then, the abominable course which must unavoidably be resorted to—to induce them to do what?—to lay waste the dwelling of the peaceable cultivator of the land, and to murder his innocent wife and his helpless children! I cannot pursue this subject farther, although I am far from having exhausted it. I have said enough to enable the impartial reader to decide which of the two classes of men, the Indians and the whites, are most justly entitled to the epithets of brutes, barbarians and savages. It is not for me to anticipate his decision.

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built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.²⁴ E 515 757

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp. E 757

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the Unamis,²⁵ Wunalachticos²⁶ and Monsys,²⁷ formerly lived in the region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing²⁸ along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains. D 101 131

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals. D 648

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there D 173

436 is even now the case, though they are not accounted as valuable as at one time. Formerly they sometimes used in the place of the belts the wing of some large bird, which is still done among the nations living in remoter regions, where wampum is rare or not to be had at all, where there is no trade with Europeans and some have not even seen wampum. Occasionally, though not often, embassies from such distant people come to the Delawares.⁴³

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● 648 A belt is given in confirmation of a message or speech, as they know nothing of writing; an answer given is similarly ratified by a belt of the same size. An alliance or league is hardly arranged by two peoples with less than twenty belts of wampum. Often thirty or more are required.

175 As I have digressed from the main matter, viz., the character and nature of the land, I must yet in passing notice how it came about that the Delawares, who had lived near the sea and along the Delaware River, came to Allegheny,⁴⁴ where they were strangers and had no claim to the land. Some eighty years ago, more or less, the whites being already in the country and many of the Delawares having moved far up the Delaware River, a party of these Indians, with the cousin of a chief as captain, went on a hunt. They were attacked by Cherokees, at that time dwelling along the Allegheny and its branches, and some of them were killed, the captain, a cousin of the chief, among the rest. The survivors fled to their homes, related to the chief what had happened and suggested that he give them more men in order that they might avenge themselves on their enemies. The chief, however, put them off and did not let them go, even though he sorrowed over the loss they had suffered. After the lapse of a year the chief sent out several hundred men to avenge themselves on the Cherokees (the Delawares at that time already having European arms). When they arrived at the enemies' first towns along the Allegheny, they found no one, for all had fled at the news of the Delawares' approach. The latter pursued, the Cherokees constantly retreating until they were overtaken at the great island⁴⁵ at the fork where Pittsburg is now situated. Perceiving that the Delawares were strong in num-

175 which the Delawares were enticed by the Six Nations. The woman's dress of the Delaware nation was shortened so as to reach only to the knees and a hatchet was given into their hands for defense. More than this, on the occasion of a council held during the same war, near Pittsburg, the Six Nations proposed to take the woman's dress away altogether and clothe them with the breech-clout, saying they could well see that the dress was a hindrance, inasmuch as the Delawares did not enter heartily into the war, being well aware that the Six Nations only sought their ruin. This, therefore, was not approved of by the Delawares, one of their chiefs rising to say to the Six Nations, "Why do you wish to rob the woman of her dress? I tell you that if you do, you will find creatures in it that are ready to bite you."

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648 The Six Nations who had betrayed the Delawares into a war with the white people, at the last fell upon them themselves at the instigation of Sir William Johnson, taking many captives, especially of the Monsy [Monsey] tribe, whom they delivered over to Johnson, destroying and ravaging their towns on the Susquehanna and killing their cattle.⁴⁸ The Delawares will not easily forget this piece of treachery and there is and remains a national hostility between these nations. In this present war the Delawares have done much to avenge themselves.

With the Mohicanders and Woapanose⁴⁹ the Six Nations also carried on wars for a long time; through the instrumentality of white people peace was eventually declared between them at Albanien.⁵⁰

133 Concerning the country in which the Delawares formerly lived, viz., in Pennsylvania and Jersey, it is unnecessary to add anything, as these regions are well known. Along the Susquehanna, where our Indians lived, that is, at Friedenschütten,⁵¹ the country is beautiful and the soil good along the river, but away from the river in the heart of the country it is very mountainous and of no use to the Indians except for the chase. Where the Indians would prepare land and plant, the soil must be of the best. In many cases where the Europeans would think it possible to have fine farms, the Indians would not look at the soil.

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ingratiate himself with the people and stand by his counsellors. 622
 Hence, it is that the chiefs are generally friendly, gracious, hos- 623
 pitable, communicative, affable and their house is open to every
 Indian. Even strangers who come on business put up in the
 chief's house and are accommodated with the best it affords. 648
 The ambassadors of other nations generally lodge with the chief 622
 and they are well cared for. If their number is too great, and it 622
 has happened in connection with weighty affairs concerning 623
 several nations that ten or twenty men of other nations have
 arrived at the principal chief's house, they are put into a sep-
 arate house and provided with every thing at the public expense,
 the counsellors taking care that they are entertained most hos-
 pitably in order that the nation may be in good repute amongst
 other nations.

In externals a chief has no advantages above others. He 622
 must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any
 obligation to supply his wants. His wife, whose duty it is to
 provide sufficient corn for the year, is usually assisted by other
 women in her plantations, for much corn is required in such a
 house. If the chief is young and able to hunt he will, his offi-
 cial duties permitting, occasionally join the chase. He will even
 secure his own firewood as far as possible. In case he is old
 his friends, of whom there are usually many, and other Indians
 will furnish him with game, especially if he be popular.

The council house is either the house of the chief, which is 623
 commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that pur- 344
 pose. Here public councils are held, that is, such where mes-
 sages which have arrived from whites or other Indians are pub-
 lished. Every one may listen and the messages are also dis-
 cussed. In case there is something of particular importance to
 consider, only the chief and the counsellors assemble and deter-
 mine upon the matter. The old chief Netawatwes^{ss} used to
 lay all affairs of state before his council for consideration. When
 they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it or indi-
 cated what was missing or not correct in the speech, upon which
 they would make the necessary amendments. Thus he kept
 them active and was held in great esteem.

The chief has the council bag in his possession, as also the 211
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But when a belt is given few words are spoken, and they must be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Belts are of pure wampum worked in all manner of clever forms by the Indian women, they being informed in each case what the figures must be, inasmuch as the figures must correspond with the message. A belt is three or four inches broad and about a yard long.²⁰³ Neither color nor the other quantities of wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. A white string of belt signifies a good message and such a belt may have figures in dark wampum. If a treaty is to be made or renewed with another nation the message is commonly accompanied by a Road Belt. This is a white belt with two rows of black wampum running the entire length with a white row between the two black rows also running the entire length of the belt. This signifies that the way from one nation to another has been cleared of all brush, trees and stones. At the ends of the belt the two nations are likewise represented by two small dark spots. If a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil or an earnest reproof the belt delivered is in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war or war declared against it the belt is black or marked with red, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet in white wampum. A peace belt is quite white, a fathom long and a hand broad and of not inconsiderable value.

A chief has more use for the white wampum than the black. In particular cases and upon extraordinary occasions a voluntary contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. The rich are considered as principal supporters of the chiefs and furnish them with wampum in an emergency, which rarely occurs more than once in three years. The usual expenses are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never empty, because when wampum is paid out usually an equal amount comes in. In general the chief does not speak in council, but has his speaker to whom he communicates his sentiments briefly and leaves him to expatiate on them. The latter must be able to put the whole matter in a speech well arranged, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful mem-

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council in a solemn speech. If the subjects are of great importance all who take part in the discussion stand as they speak. Each counsellor has the liberty to utter his sentiments and having made his speech, sits down. No one interrupts the speaker but all sit silent and attentive as if engaged in an act of devotion. The speeches are delivered in a pleasing manner and the words of the speakers flow as readily as if they were read from a manuscript. Whoever visits such an assembly, whether white man or savage Indian, cannot but be profoundly impressed.

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A subject is often very thoroughly and extendedly discussed. The chiefs and counsellors in turn give their opinions and suggestions. When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of all the speeches in a concise manner. This is done extempore and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being brought into as short and comprehensive statement as possible. Before deliberations begin, the strings and belts of wampum must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them is considered vain and without effect. They are so accustomed to this that when they communicate the contents of a message, merely in private conversation, they cannot do so without something in their hands, a strap, a ribbon or a blade of grass. Holding some such thing in his hand the speaker will recount the points in proper order as with the strings or belts of wampum thereto belonging.

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When chiefs are compelled to give answer to a proposition of which they do not approve, but which they have consented to consider because they did not wish openly to offer an affront, they are able to frame their reply in so figurative and equivocal a style as to allow of almost any desired interpretation or application. Those who receive such an answer, know as little after the reply has been given as before, but are ashamed to ask further, lest they should be regarded as stupid and because chiefs are supposed to understand everything.

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When treaty of peace is made with another nation it is determined that it shall last as long as sun and moon shine or rise and set, as long as the stars are in the heavens and the rivers

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● 648 and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

622 as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

622 In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.²⁶⁵ No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, 586 it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

266 it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

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727 Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

728 The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,²⁷² as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation²⁷³ through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

• 648 With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,²⁷⁴ the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twich-twes,²⁷⁵ the Wawiachtanos,²⁷⁶ the Kikapus,²⁷⁷ the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,²⁷⁸ the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen²⁷⁹ and the Kaskaski.²⁸⁰ The two last named dwell along the Wabash.²⁸¹

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.²⁸² The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

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ing that they were fugitives and wished to settle in the country of the Delawares and under their protection. The Delawares adopted them as grandchildren, even as had been done with the Mahikanders. The Shawanose now call the Delawares grandfather.²⁸³ They lived for some time in the Forks of the Delaware and then moved to Wajomick²⁸⁴ on the Susquehanna. Having increased considerably in numbers they moved to the western branch of that river and, later, as they deemed themselves secure in the alliance with the Delawares and sufficiently strong to venture it, to the Ohio above Great Island.²⁸⁵ Here they commenced hostilities against the Cherokees. The latter pursued often following the Shawanose into the country of the Delawares. Unwittingly they killed some of the latter. This brought on a new war between the Delawares and the Cherokees, beginning, as indicated, by the Shawanose and not ended until the year 1768. The Shawanose lived for several years on the Ohio near Kittannunk,²⁸⁶ whence they moved to Logstown,²⁸⁷ twenty miles below Pittsburg, and from there to the Sioto, whence the Americans drove them and entirely destroyed their settlements, for the reason that they were guilty of constant attack on the settlements of the whites and of many murderous acts.²⁸⁸ After this the Shawanose turned westward.

The Delawares have not engaged in war with any of the nations named except the Cherokees. Because these nations were in league with the Delawares, and called each other brothers (the Shawanose excepted), the Cherokees made peace with the Delawares, calling them grandfather, all these nations followed them and entered into alliance with them, and the Shawanose, having been adopted by the Delawares are so secure that no nation will venture to attack them, even though they are a cruel, warlike people.

It appears from what has been stated that the Delawares have powerful connections, being in league with most nations. Had the Delawares allowed themselves to be enticed in the present war, America's experiences would have been different. As these remained neutral, the nations in league with them did the same, except the Shawanose, who have nearly cut off their relations with "the grandfather." The Delawares are grand-

648 father to all these nations and they are the grandchildren. The
Cherokees live on the east side of the Ohio, in the mountains
opposite North Carolina. The Chipuways²⁰⁰ are a numerous
people on the north coast of Lake Erie. The Ottawas and the
Putewoatimen live to the west of Lake Erie, but a great way
beyond it. The Twichtwees and the Wawlahtanos dwell be-
tween the Sio to and the Wabash and the Kikapus, the Moshkos
and Tuckachshas on both sides of the Wobash, yet a consider-
able distance from one another.

133 The country through which the Wobash [Wabash] flows is
very level. Here are great plains producing nothing but grass
as in the flats of Wajonik.²⁰⁰ In a journey of some days you
meet with neither hill, tree nor thicket. Upon these plains herds
of buffalo are seen grazing, comprising sometimes of hundreds
of head. The banks of the Ohio are subject to frequent inunda-
tion, especially in the spring when the snow melts in the north.
For several miles on either side of the river the country will
at such a time be under water. Should Indians be hunting at
this time, they find it necessary to be careful of their canoes, lest
they should suffer want or death, for once the water overflows
the banks, it runs out many miles and there is no escape with-
out a canoe. Buffalo and other game perish in large numbers
in such floods. Where there is a slight elevation animals gather
by the hundreds, until the waters recede. In that region there
is a great salt-lick, much visited by buffalo and other game.²⁰¹
There bones and teeth of elephants of considerable size have been
found, both by whites and Indians. In earlier times there must
have been elephants in this region. Whether they were exter-
minated by the Indians or perished in some other way, it is not
easy to determine.

648 The (Wiondats), or Hurons, have been given the latter
name because formerly they lived near Lake Huron, (the Dela-
wares call them Delamattenos),²⁰⁴ they call the Delaware nation
their cousin, and the latter in turn call them uncle. With these
the Delawares have never had a war but have always been good
friends. Between the Delawares and the Six Nations there has
never been real friendship, because the latter secured peace in
no straight-forward manner. Recognizing that the Delawares

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were too powerful for them, they pretended that it would not be good for the nations to wage war continually and that one nation ought to be the woman and that nation must be the Delawares, as they were the greatest warriors. Afterward they alleged that they had conquered the Delawares. In the war which began in 1755 and lasted until the sixties the Delawares challenged the Six Nations on the occasion of a Treaty in Pittsburg, but the latter returned no answer.⁶⁴⁸

Of late years the Delawares have amazingly increased in reputation through the wise management of the Chief Netawatwes. This man spared no pains to gain the friendship of all the nations. He sent frequent embassies to the grandchildren, and showed himself a true grandfather. When the Delawares sent a message to the allied nations, the speech began with each string or belt of wampum, "Grand-children;" the nations address the Delawares, "Grandfather." The Wyondats and Six Nations are addressed "Uncle," and the Europeans, "Brother." The speech is generally addressed directly to the chief, though meant for the whole nation.

The nations generally addressed the French as "Father," when the latter were in possession of Canada and had intercourse with them. The same appellation was transferred to the English when they conquered Canada. In the other colonies Europeans and Indians called one another "Brothers." This practice was followed by Sir William Johnson.

Indians explain the origin of Nations and their names by saying, and this not unlikely, that the inhabitants of towns or districts named themselves according to the places where they dwelt. Thus even at the present time Delawares who live in Goschachgünk are commonly called Goschachgiwak, that is Goschachgühlser — "people of Goschachgünk." [773]

A message sent or a speech in council goes or is delivered in the name of the three tribes, signifying the three chiefs. The Turtle tribe is named first, next the Wolf Tribe and the Turkey Tribe last. 202 623 648

When a message is returned, not having been accepted, the belt or string of wampum that has been rejected is thrown on the floor of the council house, after it has been announced why

202 the message was not welcome. The refusal is considered a great
623 affront and no one of the chiefs or counsellors will touch the
648 rejected wampum belt or string. This lies on the floor, the
men of the Council leaving the place, until some old woman
removes it.

622 Concerning usages and ceremonies connected with the election of a chief the following should have been added. If a chief of the Turtle Tribe is to be elected his own tribe does not choose him but the chiefs of the other two tribes do this. Similarly, if a chief of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe were to be elected, the tribe concerned would have no part in the election. The election is conducted in the following manner. As each tribe lives in a town of its own, the two chiefs, upon whom the election devolves, meet with their counsellors and people at an appointed place, and after all necessary preparations have been made — some thirty belts of wampum are required and a number of speeches arranged for — they move in a procession toward the town where the election is to take place. The two chiefs head the procession and one of them sings along the whole way the speeches that are to be made to the chief about to be elected, singing in a tone used on this and no other occasion. Thus they, still singing, enter the town where the chief is to be elected. They find everything prepared for the occasion, enter the council house at the east end, pass on one side the two or three fires that have been made and sit down on the other side. Next the inhabitants of the town enter, welcome the guests by shaking their hands and sit down on the other side of the fire. One of the two chiefs, in a singing tone, opens the proceedings by explaining the object of the meeting, condoling with the chief elect, wipes the tears from his eyes, clears his ears and throat, removes all sorrow on account of the departed chief from his heart and comforts him. Next he declares him to be chief and formally fills the office made vacant by the death of the former chief. He then exhorts the young people to be obedient to their new chief, whenever he shall require their assistance, and explains to them how they are to conduct themselves toward the chief. The speech is confirmed by means of two belts of

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order that at home they may have nothing but good to report. 574
As hospitality is generally practiced, strangers are everywhere well received and suffer no want, even though they may remain for days, or weeks or months. It is recognized as a duty to care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does make up his mind to go.

On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all. 648 ● 535

The War Dance is very wild and dreadful to behold. One dancer carries his hatchet, another a long knife, another a large club, a fourth a cudgel. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies, affecting all the while an air of anger and fury. The Mingoes use the war dance even in times of peace with a view to celebrate their heroic deeds. 721 535

They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer or other animal, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal had adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans. They recognize that the Europeans are industrious and clever, that without oppor- 829

429 tunity to trade with them their position would be without many of the advantages they now enjoy. They admit that the whites are very ingenious, because of their ability to manufacture a great variety of things, but regard their manner of living as wearisome and slavish as compared with their own. Their own skill as hunters and woodsmen, they hold, excels that of the whites. Towards these they harbor a secret enmity which they disguise in their presence, for they suspect that they will deprive them of their land and drive them within narrower confines. This suspicion is not without foundation. Among the Delawares this dislike has been moderated through long intercourse with the whites, yet they show that they have no particular love towards them, in that they will sell their lands to them and after these have become inhabited will seek to drive them off by starting war.

648 The French seem to possess a greater share of the goodwill of the Indians than the English, being regarded by the Indians as being more akin to themselves, probably because they enter more easily into the Indian manner of living and appear always good-humored. Indians have more faith in the French than in other Europeans. Since the late war with England all the Americans except the English in Canada, otherwise called by the Indians Virginians, are known as Big Knives by the nations because, from the beginning, the Indians saw them and the Governor of Virginia on all occasions of negotiations with the Indians wearing long swords. Hence, they called them Choanschican and the Six Nations named them Assarigoa that is Big Knives, which name has been applied to all Virginians and has been extended from it to all Americans because the Virginians in this war negotiated most of the treaties with the Indians.²⁹⁹

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181 Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be. The towns and villages of the latter are not indeed governed by force or law. Each individual is at liberty to live where he pleases,

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with the dancers, and when the amusement was at its height 173
killed many of them with short weapons they had concealed under
their blankets, escaping, after the deed was done, before their
treachery had been discovered.

The land was never formally divided among the nations, 361
whatever region was settled by a nation was recognized as prop- 648
erty of that nation, and no one disputed its title, until, in course
of war, one nation overpowered another and drove it out of its
territory. In such cases, however, the conquering nation did not
always settle on the conquered territory; for example, the Mosh-
kos drove the Shawanose from their land in Florida but did not
themselves settle there, still living on the west side of the Ohio
in the region of the Wabash. The Delawares conquered the ter-
ritory in which they live, having been driven out of the region
they once inhabited by the white people. The Wiondats adjudged
this region as belonging to them; and the Kikapus have given
them a district along the Wabash and bordering on the country
they inhabit for the chase. A part of the Delaware nation has
lived in the Wabash region these many years, and of those living
here many go thither every year. The boundaries of Indian
countries are fixed along rivers and creeks or in a straight line
from one river to another or along the mountain ranges, where
there are mountains.

Of the spherical form of the earth they have no conception. 823
Some declare that the earth floats upon the sea and that an
enormous tortoise bears it on its back. The sky, they say, rests
upon the water probably because it appears so to do when they
look out upon the sea. Others declare that there is a place where
the sky strikes the earth, rises again and continues moving up
and down, smiting a rock, which causes such a report that it may
be heard many days' journey. Two great captains once visited
that place, and one of them risked going through the opening
when the sky rose. He succeeded in getting into heaven and
coming back. Yet where this place is they know as little as they
do the location of Tschipey Hacki, the land of the spirits. The
sun, they think, sinks into the water when it sets. Thunder is 821
a mighty spirit dwelling in the mountains and sometimes issuing
from their fastnesses suffers himself to be heard. Others imag-

757 this and for other troubles they have roots and herbs, which generally prove efficient remedies. Knowledge of these remedies may be confined to a very few, who demand payment for any prescription they make and keep their secrets to themselves. One common mistake made by all Indian practitioners is overdosing the patients. Fortunately, the Indians have strong constitutions, and usually do not suffer permanent injury from the unwise treatment of their doctors.

765 Concerning mourning for the dead it might be added that a widow is expected to observe in externals the following rules during the period of mourning which lasts a year. She must lay aside all ornaments, wash but little, for as soon as she makes pretensions at cleanliness, combs and dresses her hair, it is reported that she is anxious to marry. Men who are in mourning have no such regulations to observe.

Should a chief have lost a child or near relative, no complaint may be brought before him, nor may his advice be asked on any affairs of state. Even important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him until comfort has been formally offered. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampum and addressing to him a speech, in which figuratively the remains of the deceased are buried, the grave covered with bark that neither dew of heaven nor rain may fall upon it, the tears are wiped from the chief's eyes, the sorrow of burial taken from his heart and his heart made cheerful. This done, it is possible to confer with him on the matters of state that need consideration.

When Europeans, who are in more comfortable circumstances than the Indians, wish to comfort a chief, they not only give a string of wampum but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen, laying another piece on the grave and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. Both the linen and the silks are given him as a present.

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● 648 When a chief dies sympathy is expressed with the whole nation. I will give a brief description of the ceremonies observed when the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachgunk to renew their alliance with

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them after their Chief Netawatwes had died. The ambassadors
halted several miles below the town and sent word that they
had arrived. The day after some Delaware Captains went down
to welcome them and delivered a speech, in which they expressed
joy on their arrival, extracted the thorns they had gotten on the
journey from their feet, took the sand and gravel from between
their toes, and anointed the wounds and bruises made by the
briars and brushwood with oil, wiped the perspiration from their
faces and the dust from their eyes, cleansed their ears, throats
and hearts of all evil they had seen, heard or which had entered
their hearts. A string of wampum was delivered in confirmation
of this speech and then the Captains, accompanied by a
large number of Indians, conducted the ambassadors to the
town. On entering the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by
firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by
the Delawares. Next, the Captain of the Cherokees began a
song, during which they proceeded to the Council-house, where
everything had been prepared for the reception of the visitors.
All having been seated, the Cherokee Captain comforted the
grandfather, the Delaware nation, over the loss of the Chief.
Continuing he wrapped the remains in a cloth, buried them,
covered the grave with bark, wiped the tears from the eyes of
the weeping nation, cleansed their ears and throats and took
away all the sorrow from their hearts. He confirmed his speech
by delivering a string of wampum. Then the peace-pipe was
stuffed, lighted and in turn smoked by several Captains of the
Delawares and Cherokees.

The peace-pipe is held in high regard among the Indians.
It is brought out at certain solemn occasions, as when peace is
concluded or renewed. The head is six or eight inches long and
three inches high. It is made of stone or marble. A pipe made
of red marble, as was the one used on the occasion described
above, is particularly valued. The pipe-stem is made of wood
and blackened, it is strong and durable and may be four feet
long. It is wound around with fine ribbon and decorated with
ornaments made of porcupine quills of various colors. It may
be further ornamented with green, yellow and white feathers.
If the pipe is made of red marble it is whitened with white clay

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or chalk, for red is the color of war, even though the red marble pipe is most highly valued. For the same reason nothing red may appear on a string of wampum. A war-belt is smeared with red paint or cinnabar. If for want of a white wampum belt, one made of the violet colored shells has to be used, this is whitened with clay and then has the same significance as a white belt. The dark wampum belts are used, whenever they wish to give some one a severe lesson or a reproof. After the ceremonies described above had been completed, and all had partaken of a feast, the exercises for that day were at an end. On the next day they approached the chief matters of interest and exchanged belts of friendship, this part of the negotiations lasting several days, as each belt was presented in connection with a formal speech.

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A few words should be added concerning animals.

1) Swallows¹¹⁰ are found, generally near some body of water. Snipe¹¹¹ are gray in color and have a bill almost as long as the body of the bird. The gull¹¹² is frequently seen near rivers and lakes. Two kinds of plover¹¹³ may be seen in these parts, both found near water. The one variety is about the size of a blackbird,¹¹⁴ which is sometimes found away from water, the other much smaller.

The whippoorwill¹¹⁵ is a night bird, of gray color, somewhat smaller than a turtledove.¹¹⁶ It has a thick head, a short bill and a wide mouth. It has received its name from its note, which may be heard all night long.

The Mosquito-hawk¹¹⁷ gets its name from catching mosquitoes and flies while on the wing. It is about the size of turtledove, has a round white spot on each of its wings, which seem, when the animal flies, like holes in the wings. It will dart up and down very swiftly in its efforts to catch insects.

Of bees¹¹⁸ nothing was known when we came here in '72, now they are to be found in large numbers in hollow trees in the woods.

Wasps¹¹⁹ are found in large numbers.

2) Among the quadrupeds the flying squirrel¹²⁰ should be noted. This animal is about the size of a rat, has a thin mem-

584 Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

462 The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

586 There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organisation

648 Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

525 The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Ziesberger, 1910, pp. 93-95). 622

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form ¹¹ (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204). 712 198

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted to give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes. 721 648

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142). 726

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors. 721

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143).

10. The evidence available on this subject in printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Rutenber (p.89ff.).
11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885). [211]
12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240). [648]

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indians, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seized, the other five would seek to be Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt. [174, 114, 746]

of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, 727
seizing him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears 783
under the water and holding him down until he was almost
smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating
this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him
in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a
"roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian.
Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and
make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to
make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go
near the fire until he became dry.⁷

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future 844
for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks 759
of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native
concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would
be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire
power as a swimmer.

THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,⁸ consider them- 619
selves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with 648 ●
neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great
family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and col-
lateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity.
These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein
other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without
dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much
stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed
to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations
that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving
precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From
various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position
of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one
of some value in coördinating the position of the different
groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

⁷ Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

⁸ The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal
consanguinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers
and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, *The
Eastern Algonkian Confederacy*, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915,
pp. 490, 505).

619 in tribal migrations which led to the settlement of the tribes
648 in their proper locations. For, as we glance eastward from
the Delawares and southward, likewise we discover the tribes
to rate as nephews and grandsons of the patriarchal stem.
I should not like, however, to stress the force of the tradi-
tional assumption of paternity that the Delawares lay claim
to as being proof in any sense of the tribe being sire to those
it regards as lineal or collateral descendants. The belief
nevertheless has much ethnological value and has been dis-
regarded by ethnologists without good reason. And since
other tribes seem not to have retained extensive knowledge
of these matters it has seemed important to record the text
presenting the Delaware opinion of the matter. I have made
some comment on tribal beliefs of consanguinity in the study
of the Big House Ceremony and now the occasion seems ripe
for the recording of the informant's own version of the situa-
tion with a comparison of the facts as written down a century
ago by Zeisberger.*

In the following narration the information's tradition of
the Delaware's imaginary relationship to other groups is
placed on record. In the footnotes are included quotations
from older authorities on the subject and comments by other
living Delaware informants. The testimony before us brings
out discrepancies, as might be expected when amassing data
on a situation so involved with a tribal ego and the perpetua-
tion of which is so dependent upon negotiations between the
groups, associations which have long ceased to function.¹⁰

* Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 109. See also *Consanguinity of Tribes*, in the "Big House Ceremony," p. 33. In the latter passage cited, an error evidently crept in, as the informant notes the Iroquois considered as "brothers" and the Seneca "nephews," while I find the Delaware chiefs designate the Seneca, at least, as "uncles."

¹⁰ That these discrepancies have prevailed for a long time is shown by the observations of McKenney almost a century ago that the Wyandot claimed to be uncles of all other tribes, and the Delawares their grandfathers. But, he adds, the Delawares acknowledge themselves nephews of the Wyandots. J. L. McKenney and J. Hall, "History of the Indian Tribes of North America," Philadelphia, 1844, III, p. 7. After comparing Witapano'xwe's authority ("Big House Ceremony," p. 33) that the Wyandots are "nephews" of the Delawares it may be gathered that the Indians themselves have now, as well as in the past, been responsible for the existing confusion. Their inaccuracy is either a trait in itself or an aberration of one.

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE CEREMONIES

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For it to be more consistently expressed would imply possession of an historical sense which we know is lacking in the native rôle of life. So before a meaning to this trait of eastern culture can be approached we shall have to record corresponding lists from other tribes checking them up with tradition and actual history.

The Delaware versions of tribal synonymy throw some interesting side-lights on early names and associations in the East which I shall not attempt to discuss in this paper.

CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

wa'ni	lən'a'p'e	li'pəna'on	we'mi	enxake'i't	
The	Delaware	are looked upon	all	different tribes	619 648 539
wa'ni	me'xkeo'xkus'i't	te'i'i	ne'ka	ki'k'hai'n.	ahi-
the	red men	that	he	is oldest.	Great
kahe'li	xt'oxwi's.u.	wəla'haxa'ne	a'lende	awe'nhak'e	
many	his grandchildren.	Although besides	some	wild Indians	
ha'te	e'lango'mənd	pəna'	wa'ni	Ca'wəno'	"
special	relationship	such as	the	Shawnee	
na'lən'a	ne'tami'xing	noxwi'səna.	nawu'ndji	ekala'mi	
that is	first	grandchild.	From that	on down	
wa'ni	Pote'ot'am, ¹²	Sa'ki'a, ¹³	Aya'howe, ¹⁴	Ta'ngowe, ¹⁵	
the	Pottawatomi,	Sauk and Fox,	Ioway,	Tonkawa,	
Ca'hax, ¹⁶	Pi'kaxca', ¹⁷	ok	Ki'kapu, ¹⁸	Maya'hame', ¹⁹	
Sioux,	Ottawa,	and	Kickapoo,	Miami,	

¹² Literally "southerner," a name of general distribution among the eastern tribes. (For discussion of term see Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 2, p. 530.)

¹³ Literally, "half-witted, or not having good sense." (Potawatamink or Potawagamink; "People of place of fire." *Ibid.*, p. 289.)

¹⁴ The informant offered no analysis for this title. (Oa'kiwūg, "people of the outlet." *Ibid.*, p. 471.)

¹⁵ The informant associated the name with the Delaware term a'howe, "thicket." ("Sleepy ones." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 612.)

¹⁶ Associated with the Delaware stem tagg—"little." (Tonkawa'ya, "they all stay together." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 778.)

¹⁷ Literally, "shy, afraid, retreating in manner." (Chippewa term, Nadowe-is-iw, meaning, snake, adder. *Ibid.*, p. 577.)

¹⁸ Literally, "smart, intelligent but having a shabby appearance." It also denotes, "wearing a tooth or claw necklace." It is more probable that the term denotes the Piankasha of Illinois and Indiana with whom the Delawares were associated before their removal across the Mississippi. (Ā dā we, "to trade, to buy and sell." *Ibid.*, p. 167.)

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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FRANK G. SPECK

619 Pe'ya'le, ³⁰	ok	ən'ahəl'i'	Tei'pəwe, ³¹	Məna'məni, ³²
648 Peoria,	and	besides	Chippewa,	Menomini,
539 Ci-li-ti'xka, ³³		Ca'cpu'ci, ³⁴	Patu'xka, ³⁵	Win'i-pe'ga, ³⁶
Comanche,		Nes Perce,	Apache,	Winnebago,
Wəca'ce, ³⁷	Kaši'a, ³⁸	Paŋka, ³⁹	Oka'xpa. ⁴⁰	We'mi
Oaage,	Kaw, or Kansas	Ponca,	Quapaw.	All

yu'kwe yu'ki'k ənxi' wi'xk'wus-i'xtit. yu'kwe yu'tali
these here each different named. Now here

"Travelling or visiting people." (Kiwigapaw, "he stands about," or "he moves about, standing now here, now there." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 684.)

Literally, "people living affiliated in settlements." (Chippewa term, omaumeg, "people who live on the peninsula." *Ibid.*, p. 832.) A more appropriate name for the Miami, given by Chief Fall Leaf in Oklahoma is *Tuwa'tuwa*. The closest analysis he could give for the term was "salamander larva" (*tuwa'kik*, "salamander"). The name takes us to the synonym Twightwee as denoting the Miami in Indiana and Illinois. How such an epithet came to be applied to them was beyond the tradition of the informants, their only suggestion being that at some early time upon first seeing members of the group, their appearance, perhaps painting, suggested to the Delawares the animal named. This was said to have been a basis for first names of groups and individuals.

No explanation offered by informant but by Chief Fall Leaf analyzed to "people who have spiritual helpers." Tradition among the Delaware he asserted says that one of the first of natives met with had so much spiritual power that they gave them this name. (Piware, "he comes carrying a pack on his back." *Ibid.* 1, p. 228.)

The term is suggestive of, "whistling people." (From ojib, "to pucker up," and ub-way, "to roast." *Ibid.*, p. 277.) The Mississauga (Ojibwa) of Ontario, while not known to the Delawares of Oklahoma, are ranked as "grandchildren" by the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations Reserve.

A proper name for which the informant gave no specific meaning. (Menominiwok ininiwok, "they are men." *Ibid.*, p. 842.)

No explanation offered, but said to sound like "fast runner." (Padouca, Siouan name for Comanche. *Ibid.*, p. 327.)

Evidently a derivation of Nes Perce³⁴ as it sounded to Delaware ears.³⁵

Literally, "someone coming and someone going, not permanently located." Evidently confused in identity in the mind of informants. Paducah might be a survival of the Illinois designation. (A'pachu, "enemy." *Ibid.*, p. 163.)

No explanation offered. (Chippewa term, winipig, "filthy water," and Sauk and Fox, 'winipyāgohag', "people of the filthy water." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 958.)

Delaware pronunciation of the tribal eponym.

Literally, "coward." The Delaware feel that this is the proper meaning.

No explanation given.

No explanation offered by informant. (U'gakpa, "downstream people." *Ibid.*, p. 333.)

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talowi'hi'la'wa'o they call	yuli'l the	lana'p'eyo Delawares	Wa'panaxki ²¹ Wabanaki	ok 619 also 648 539
muxomsa'n'a. "our grandfather."	ka't'tei But	we'mi all	ni'maxtana our brothers	dal'a they
wi'lpo'na call us	lana'pe. ²² Lenape.			
Yu'kwe Now	nawe'i'taxkenu'taman I shall talk about, explain	wani' the	lana'pe Delaware	
wei'maxta's'i't their brothers	awe'ni whom	ako'ta not	nanhe'li much I say	ge'ski'a as many
wi'hil'ak' can name	wani' the	Wane'tako' ²³ Nanticoke	ok and	Mahi'kan'i' ²⁴ Mahican and
Mu'nai ²⁵ Munsee	ok ke'xa'kei and several nations	O'pan'u' ²⁶ Iroquois	ce'la'han'e and those	de'nxi' as many
mæca'la'n I think of	ni'maxtas'ana'nuk. our brothers.	cuk' But	ke'nowi nevertheless	a'p'tei always
wa'ni the	lan'a'pe Delawares	ta'n'da the very	ki'k'hayi'n. oldest.	nawu'ndji And thence

²¹ A general appellation for the Delawares of long standing, meaning "easterners." The antiquity of this term points, with evidence not to be ignored, to the early affinity of the Delawares with the peoples of New England in general who were and are known by dialectic forms of the same classifying term.

²² Literally, "common people." (See 2, p. 14, of this series, also Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Brinton and Anthony, "A Lenape-English Dictionary," The Pennsylvania Students Series. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1889, 1, p. 63; Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 1, p. 385.)

²³ Despite serious attempts to seek explanation of this term for Nanticoke as well as in cognate sources it remains incapable of precise analysis. The Canadian Delaware-Munsee informant (Nick Peters) thinks it alludes to great waves. ("Tidewater people." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 25.)

²⁴ No specific analysis offered. ("Wolf." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 786.)

²⁵ No analysis offered. (Min-asin-ink, "at the place where stones are gathered together." *Ibid.*, p. 957.)

²⁶ Literally, "eastern sunrise people." This term strangely includes both the Iroquois and the Brothertown Indians (Algonkian) which the Delawares fail to distinguish. Another term *posk'oca's'i't*, "wearing a natural crest or roach on the head," was thought to be recalled by the informant as a synonym for the Mohawk. He thought the Iroquois originated the "roach" head-dress, which agrees with tradition among the Penobscot, who describe a term *me'gwaimo'suma'si't*, "Mohawk hair-cut," as denoting the hair shaved from the head leaving only a dorsal crest on the crown from front to rear. (For a short discussion of the distribution of the roach headdress see "The Big House Ceremony," p. 97.)

- 619 ha't'e pi'li langundowa'k'an. axpo'wak et' ik'ali'tei
 also existing other relationships. There must be older persons
- 648 elki'k' 'si'tei'k' westu'xti't' we'mi' e'nxenaxga'tuk
 living longer than I who know all different degrees
- 539 lango'sowa'k'an. yukwe' tci'te kexa'p'tun wa'ni
 relationship. Now then few words, the
- Te'lma't'en'u³⁷ lungoxs'a's'ona naheli' wa'ni
 Wyandot our nephews (brothers' or sisters' sons) and also the
- Katu'ho.³⁸ ka't'tci' wa'ni Me'ngwe,³⁹ spa'nayu'⁴⁰
 Cherokee. But the Seneca Mexicans
- no'ci'si'nen kat'tci' wa'ni weo'p'si't'⁴¹
 our uncles, "mother's brother" but the white person
- ni'maxto's'en'a ok wa' soka'xkwu'le's a'lende awe'n
 our brothers and the black color person some people
- lo'we' ane'aka's'i't naxa's'ona ok nalen'a'n to'n'da
 say "he has a high color" our older brother, and he is the very
- tci'tana's'in we'mi' enxake'it' awe'n.
 stoutest of all different nations persons.

Free Translation.

The Delawares are looked upon by all the different tribes of Indians as being the oldest. A great many of them are their "grandchildren." And besides some of the "wild" Indians had special relationships, such as the Shawnee which are the first grandchildren. Thence on down in the following

³⁷ Literally, "along a mountain range."

³⁸ Meaning, "chilly, shivering with cold," suggested for this term in Delaware, disregarding its correct Cherokee source of origin. (For summary see Cherokee, *ibid.*, 1, p. 246.) The application of this term is definitely to the Seneca by the Delawares of Oklahoma and those in Canada. The latter call the Seneca "uncles," and the Seneca reciprocate by calling them "nephews."

³⁹ A term for various Iroquoian peoples reported in the earliest documents on Delaware history, given in the forms Mengwe, Minqua and their variants. The word is evidently too archaic for etymological explanation. It is current in recognizable form among all Wabanaki peoples south of the St. Lawrence. The informant also applied the term *mea'z'koti'no* "red person or man," to the Seneca, but he did not give an historic reason for the name.

⁴⁰ Literally "Spaniard."

⁴¹ A less respectful term used by the tribe to denote Europeans is *o'pigg* "opossum," the likeness arising through the pale face and slobbering laugh characteristic of both in Delaware opinion. (See 2, of this series, p. 101.)

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE CEREMONIES

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order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and 619
Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, 648 ●
Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Co- 539
manche, Nes Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca,
Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here
all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grand-
father." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares,
about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name
are the Nanticoke and Mah'kan, and Munsee and several
nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as
being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are
always considered the oldest. There must be older persons
than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relation-
ship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our
nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mex-
icans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers,
and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our
elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the
different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be 619
added; ma'ckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the 648
term for swamp, and Taq'gole'wi, the Yuchi, meaning a
people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives
an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see dis-
cussion in J. R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*,
Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286-312)
for this mysterious and important people with whom the
Delawares appear to have had contact.

MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the 764
Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper 174
with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for
a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the
Nanticoke "were assimilated during one period of time, as
Harrington's account reveals." Without attempting to un-

"Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183-4.

"An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were
maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870,
will be given shortly (p. 142).

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCERNING THE LANGUAGE OF THE AMERICAN SAVAGE PEOPLE.

There is not much in particular to write about ^{M2}
this, except that it is a poor language,¹ that a word
may have many meanings, yet is spoken with a
high pronunciation. As for instance when the
savage says: *Ita kire*, that is to say, God's peace,
welcome, how are you? *kire*, thou; *nir*, I; *tancko-*
men kire, whence comest thou? *kecko hatte mar-*
rama, what hast thou to sell? *punch*, powder;
aruns, lead; *pickon*, gun; *makirick pickon*, a can-
non or a large gun; *orit kire*, thou art beautiful
and handsome; *måkiij*, yes indeed; *kicksj ita*, that's
so; *nittappe kire*, thou art my good friend; *sewan*,
money; *pådhra*, God; *manitto*, the evil one.²

Besides this we may also observe [something ¹⁹⁸
about the language] by the savage words and ⁶⁴⁸
names, both here in the relation concerning New
Sweden as well as from the map of New Sweden,
whose lands, islands and creeks are all given and
designated in the Indian language. Besides this
these Indians or savage people are so clever, that
when they see and observe that they have any dis-
pute³ with any of the surrounding nations, then
he who is sachem or chief calls together all his
people and instructs them saying: "Now we have

¹ *Nit fattigt språk*, not rich in words. This erroneous opinion
has often been expressed even by modern writers. Cf. *Doc.*, I, 281.

² Cf. Campanius, *Cate*; Holm, *Kort Beskrifning*, 144 ff.

³ *Någön fienkap*, really enmity, warfare.

198 enemies of that or that nation, therefore we must
648 make up a new language. This is now hereafter
to be called thus and that this, so that our enemies
who understand our language, used up to this
time, may not be able to find out in the present
times of war, what we have in mind to carry on
against them; which none of our Renappi dare
on pain of death disclose to our enemies;⁴ and from
this we can observe what a strong memory they
have, that those who are neither able to read or
write, are able to memorize such a lot in a hurry.⁵

⁴It appears from this that the Indian had a kind of code
language. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 567 ff. See also *Doc.*, I, 281.

⁵"Their Braines are quick, their hands,
Their feet, their tongues, their eyes;
God may fit objects in his time,
To those quick faculties."
Williams, *Key*, 43.

542 they now dwell while the winter lasts, and if the Christians then had in mind to exterminate them, it could then be readily done; but that would be of no value or advantage to the Christians, for they are the slaves of the Christians which they themselves cannot know or observe. And the 648 trade, traffic and commerce of the Christians 464 would be of small value in that place, if the savages would not be [there]. The savages are ever willing and anxious to serve the Christians; [they] allow themselves to be commanded by the Christians, as if they were their subjects, but through good words; with dictation we get nowheres with them. If we should desire to prepare a feast, or if one otherwise may need [something] for the household, be it deer, turkeys, wild geese, wood-grouse, black-grouse, pigeons, etc., or whatever kind of game or fresh fish it may be, and one will command the savage to procure it, on that or that day for good pay, one may indeed be sure that he will get that which is desired, at the promised time. Thus in all other things which we may command, one may surely believe that it will be followed.

don, 1788), 44-72; *Mass. 1412*, vi, Ridgway Library. Williams says: "Most commonly these houses are open, their doore is a hanging *Mat*, which being lift up, falls downe of itselife; yet many of them get *English* boards and nalles, and make artificiall doores and bolts themselves, and others make slighter doores of *Burch* or *Oke* nut barke, which they make fast with a cord in the night time, or when they go out of town, and then the last (that makes fast) goes out at the Chimney, which is a large opening in the middle of their house, called: *Wunnauchicomoock*, a chimney." *Key*, 51.

The long house with two fires was called *neesquittow*; with three fires, *shicshcuttow*, etc. The round house was called *put-tuckakaun*, *Key* 47.

*During the winter.

337 then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat
237 and strong that not one feather can come loose
from it; it would sooner go clear off.⁹ They also
285 make very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely
painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all
kinds of figures, to decorate and cover the walls
with, and to place below their bed clothes.⁹
714 They also make helmets of hard sticks and
322 strong wood, so that no arrow or swingle can go
through it.¹⁰

- 643 The late Governor Printz had the savages make
and thread up for him a suit of clothes, with coat,
trousers and sword belt, entirely of their money,
which was very artistic, threaded and worked with
all kinds of animals, which came to a few thousand
florins.¹¹ And [there is] much more, which could
be described about their artistic manufacture, if
space and time would allow. In fine if they were
trained and kept at it, they would become very
expert, for they are by nature capable to grasp
and comprehend immediately what they see.¹²

⁹ The feather would sooner break off than come loose.

¹⁰ Cf. Williams, *Key*, 47 ff.

¹¹ Repetition, see above.

¹² Williams says: "Neykommaushunch, a coat or Mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their Neykommaug or Turkeys, which commonly their old Men make; and is with them as velvet with us." *Key*, 107.

¹³ Cf. Williams, *Key*, 43.

BURIALS

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happen to do this,* who does not know of their¹⁵¹
manner, then they hang their heads and sigh and⁷⁸⁴
puff severely, on account of it, not desiring to hear
it mentioned.⁷

During these their burials there is often rob-⁶⁴⁸
bery committed by some of the Christians. Some⁷⁶⁴
scoundrels go to the savages and help them to
mourn, pretending to be very sorrowful and sad,
lamenting and weeping much worse and more
miserably than the savages, saying that the [de-
ceased] also had been their good friend, which the
savages think is well, that they get company.
These scoundrels watching their time, in the night
when the savages sleep, steal away their money
chest, so that the sorrow and lamentation for the
savages become through this, deeper and greater.

* See above Chapt. II, note 27. Cf. also Van der Donck, etc.

⁷ "Which bewailing is very solamne amongst them morning and evening, and sometimes in the Night they bewaile their lost husbands, wives, children, brethren, or sisters &c. Sometimes a quarter, halfe, yea, a whole yeare, and longer if it be for a great Prince. In this time (unlesse a dispensation be given) they count it a prophane thing either to play (as they much use to doe) or to paint themselves for beauty, but for mourning; or to be angry and fall out with any &c." Williams, Key, 54.

[p. 252 is blank]

II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

These may be characterized by relative size in the following 177 chronological order.

1. Until 1638. Contacts with only occasional trading ships.
2. 1638 to about 1700. Entire Delaware communities in contact with smaller white communities.
3. 1700 to 1750. Entire Delaware communities in contact with larger white communities.
4. 1751 to 1821. Contacts mainly with missionaries and traders.
5. 1821 to about 1850. Reservation life, contacts with gov- 657
ernment officials, missionaries, traders, and smaller white communities.
6. 1850 to 1938. Delaware families on individual tracts and allotments, no longer in communities, in contact with white communities, and after 1890 surrounded by them.

At only rare and brief intervals, like the French and Indian 648
War and the Revolution, were the whites openly and militantly 177
hostile to the Delaware. Their contacts aside from these exterminating expeditions were responsible for the following types of effect.

1. Introduction of new ideas, materials, and techniques, with possible supplanting of the old ideas.
2. Introduction of other Indian elements through traders.
3. New tribal contacts through moves forced upon the Dela- 167
ware whether by administrative action or otherwise.
4. Change in habitat, due to destruction of game, forests, etc., and settlement on reservations and allotments.

It should be pointed out that not only did the white contact range through various nationalities—Swedish, Dutch, English, French, German, and American, but white culture as a whole was also changing through the centuries of contact. The most striking aspect of this evolution was probably in technology, but the changes in attitude towards the Indians and the changes in administrative policy were also important.

In their first historical habitat the Delaware were almost 133
surrounded by closely related tribes—the Munsee, Mahican, 177
Nanticokes, Conoy, Manhattan, and other members of the Wap-

177 reservation and with the proceeds bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation. They were soon encroached upon in their new location, and by 1890 there were approximately twice as many whites as Indians in the Cherokee territory. There does not appear to have been any great variation in the rate of culture change until this great influx of white settlers.

In this period of assimilation there was a rapid breakdown of Delaware culture preceded by the loss of control of internal affairs which was the last vestige of political autonomy. The memories of the fourth-period informants cover most of this period of assimilation. I have explained previously that their accounts reflect only inadvertently any of the changes that have taken place recently.

Throughout their checkered historical career, then, the Delaware underwent acculturation at a fairly uniform rate. Their history reveals no correlation between the content of acculturation and the type of white contact. The different aspects of culture showing acculturation are correlated with length of contact rather than with type of contact.

Comparisons between the rate of change in acculturation and the rate of change in assimilation are unwarranted in the case of the Delaware, for with them the assimilation followed a long period of acculturation. It should be pointed out that the control of internal affairs was surrendered to the Cherokee and not to the whites although by that time there was no question of their subordination to the latter. When they failed to receive equitable treatment from the Cherokee, they sought justice from the United States Government and submitted to the rule that they had so long rejected.

Most of the changes in the culture of the Delaware are the result of white influence. This was both direct and indirect. Contact with whites was directly responsible for the introduction of many elements such as the rifle and the idea of hell. White contact was indirectly responsible for other changes, such as the discontinuance of use of fish as a staple, use of weirs, and use of single file on the march. These cultural changes followed a change in habitat induced by the whites. Contact with other

454. *Co-cozo-hon dance*

535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. *Women excluded from war dance*

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS in treating of war said that women were al-
562 lowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out
535 on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the case is found in the following account of HECKEWELDER: After

[127] returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

796 Who is Carried Around." Their descendents still carry the burden
346 of the worship. They belonged to the "Wolf" group (Tu'k'-u't). For this reason the Wolf group claims the right to sponsor these exercises now, and holds the majority rule in the present Big House deliberations. And in my judgment they will always rule hereafter. The present house was built three or four hundred yards to the southwest of the present spot but on account of its inconvenience it was moved to where it now stands, and one acre was set aside by the Dawes Commission. It was remodeled by us after a deliberation in September 1913.

796 "The ceremony has not been "taken in" for four years," the last one
[735] being led by Frank Wilson (E'm-a'). Poverty has driven them to neglect it. And also the loss of the wampum beads which one time numbered about one hundred and twenty-eight Indian yards, all of which has nearly disappeared for it has been sold to other Indian tribes, to white people or to Museums as relics."

796 Speculations upon the origin of the ceremony would be quite out of
171 order from the ethno-historical point of view, but Delaware traditional history has no such hesitant attitude. As the myth develops we observe how the inception of the idea of the ceremony is laid to the revelation made in dreams to chosen leaders among the Munsee. Opinion seems quite general among the Delawares that the original conception of the ceremony is a Munsee one. This is interesting because it locates the ceremony in the northerly group of the three tribes forming the so-called Delaware Nation. It is fortunate that we have, from the pen of Harrington,¹ a treatise on the Munsee form of the Big House ceremony for the purpose of comparison and evaluation as far as the material provided in the several accounts will permit us to go. At present there seems little to point toward proof of priority for the Munsee phase of the worship, except for the quasi-historical estimate of the Delawares themselves. A feeling of respect for the Munsee is general among the Delawares. They are held in high esteem for their former bravery and, strange to say though natural enough in the regard held by Indians for such matters, for their indifference to economic and material affairs and devotion to those of a spiritual nature.²

648 ESOTERISM OF DELAWARE RELIGION.—In the missionary descriptions
777 of 170 years ago, chiefly from the pen of John Heckewelder, we hear constantly of the inner spirit of aversion held toward the whites, and the distrust felt by the natives concerning the motives of all Euro-

¹ This was written in October 1923.

² Harrington I, pp. 127-161.

³ Illustrative of this sentiment several Delaware observations may be recalled in reference to the Munsee. The latter, it would seem, are held in high esteem for their bravery and ability in spiritual matters, yet were noted for an indifference to dress and economic properties, in which respect the Delawares think they stood out in contrast with them.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

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peans. The Moravian missionary brothers laid some stress on this situation as it affected their own interests and those of the colonies at large. They saw ample reason for such feelings in the occasion of the atrocities committed upon the Indians by the border whites culminating in the massacre of the defenseless converts at Gnädenhütten by Pennsylvania militia (1782).

Heckewelder, knowing the Delaware through fifteen years residence in their midst (1771-1786), words the following brief expressing his own view of the matter. "Long and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a white man."

As for the testimony of the Delawares themselves, Heckewelder quotes the speech of a war-chief Pachgantachihlas,¹ delivered in 1781 to the Moravian converts at Gnädenhütten. After recapitulating the events which had happened before in their relationship with the whites, he concluded, saying, "I admit that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest for they rule. They do what they please. They enslave those who are not of their own color, although created by the same Great Spirit who created them. They would make us slaves if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their words. They will take him by the hand, and at the same moment destroy him. And so you (addressing himself to the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them before long. Remember! that this day I have warned you to beware of such friends as these. I know the long knives; they are not to be trusted."

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety-six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words were spoken, by the same men he has alluded to.

There seems to be little need of going further with details of this topic since it is so thoroughly covered in the manuscripts of the earlier writers who had opportunities of observing the transition period of Delaware contact with civilization. In the treatises of two missionaries alone, fifteen pages are devoted to the interracial problem.²

¹ Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 78.

² Pakkandji-hi-l-a-a, "Person Running with Body and Soul."

³ Zelsberger, p. 121-2; Heckewelder, pp. 71-85; Leaskel, pt. III, chap. 10. See also de Schweinitz, "The Life and Times of David Zelsberger, Phila. (1870).

- 648 Neither time nor closer association with Europeans has caused this feeling to disappear among the Delawares.¹ We observe the persistence of the same spirit in the sentiments conveyed in the text, the reverence for the mores of the past, the attitude of adoration toward their ancestors who, although ignorant pagans, possessed a mystic wisdom and intelligence which, they are willing to concede, surpassed the endowments and knowledge of the present generation.²

Yet notwithstanding the attitude of the Delawares toward the whites, we must not be misled, by consideration of the antipathy and distrust expressed since colonial times, into regarding the same spirit to have characterized their religious motives. For several authorities besides the narrator of the text coincide in telling us that the ceremonies of placation performed by the tribe are maintained for the benefit of all mankind. The white man is to be blamed for the existence in the mind of the Delaware of the feeling in favor of segregation. Yet the Delaware is willing to extend over his enemies the blessings resulting from his devotions.

- 771 The informant's own attitude is interesting as expressed in his own words.

- [778 "The Big House is regarded by the Delawares as the supreme religion among all forms of worship on the Continent. The center post
532] with the carved faces of the two sides is the foundation, whose topmost

¹ J. Morse (Rep. to the Secretary of War on the Indian Tribes, New Haven, 1822, p. 110) alludes to the Delawares of 1818 as "having a peculiar aversion to white people." Heckewelder still earlier had much to say about the causes of dissension, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[182] ² Note the spirit manifested in a communication from the Delaware Council to the Historical Commission (June 1929) "We are proud to have such a wonderful opportunity, so that our children will take pride in the work of their fathers to preserve our sacred Delaware tradition." While the hold of the old doctrine may be losing its grasp upon the younger generation of Delawares, we have some evidence of a reactionary trend in sentiment towards its rationalization. Not so long ago one of the Christian Delawares, moved by a zealous, evangelistic impulse, arose and advised the conservatives to abandon once and for all the Big House ceremony on the ground that it was part of an age of superstition and ignorance. The opposition accorded this appeal was surprising and unexpected. The individuals behind the move for abandonment were, as it happened, uneducated themselves. Some of the defenders of the old faith, women who possessed good education in government schools, responded by accusing the intruders of incompetency to pass judgment on the merits of the contending creeds, by reason of their own ignorance; in not being able to read the testaments of one, nor grasp the meaning of the other. Religious conservatism is a marked characteristic of the nationalistic element in the Nation. It is even asserted that they regard their migration from the east to have been in part prompted by a desire to preserve their religion. Dr. Michelson, who visited the tribe in 1912, was impressed by their tenacity of creed, (*Smithsonian Misc. Collec.*, vol. 60, No. 30, p. 35) upon which Harrington also makes comments (*l. op. cit.*, p. 200).

In an unpublished note to the original manuscript of Rafinesque's *Walmolam* (1833) now in the Brinton Library of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the author gives a handwritten fragment of Delaware history from 1600. It is a bitter native lament voiced over the decline of the tribe, pronounced by a chief and translated by a John Burns, with mention of the removal from the east to west of the Mississippi and finally to the Osage country.

PEYOTE CULT OF THE DELAWARE INDIANS

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other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

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SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remained essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Moon cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cults' appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an Indian ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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113

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

INTRODUCTION

101 THE DELAWARES belong to the Algon-
kian linguistic stock. When referring
to themselves they use the term
Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes
"real" or "native men." The original
131 habitat of the Delaware was in south-
eastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania,
New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory
they were first visited by the Dutch,
648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th
175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble
began owing in part to pressure brought
upon the Delaware by the Iroquois. This
167 marked the beginning of a series of
migrations in which bands of Delaware
175 left their ancestral homes in the east
and moved westward. Their first move took
them to the valley of the Susquehanna,
where they settled at Wyoming about 1742.
By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio
and formed settlements. Another move
brought numbers of them into Indiana.
In 1789 they were granted permission by
the Spanish government to settle in
Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the
tribe was brought together on a reservation

[p. 24, A]

[p28(A)]

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Along the Kansas River are the Indian Reservations. First we have at the mouth on the north side the Wyandottes, a branch of the Iroquois family. Next west of them are the Delawares, and above them are the Potawatamies; on the south side are the Shawnees, whose lands extend from Kansas City to near Lawrence. There are short breaks between the reservations between which the white settlers have got in, but the settlers are excluded from nearly the whole of the splendid land along this river. They have continued to lease some of it and to marry Indian wives and get adopted into the tribes and thus some few have gained farms, or the possession at least of valuable land. The whites of course are anxious for the further removal of these Indians, and their wiser men will see the necessity of their removal if they would save them from extermination by the usual process.

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I understand the Shawnees have by treaty with the government¹¹ divided up their lands as to give to each man, woman and child 200 acres of land, to be owned in fee by each but without the power of sale for eight years, after which each may sell. The

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balance of these lands they have sold to the government for 60 cents per acre. Upon these last lands the settlers have entered. The Delawares have also made a new treaty, by which after reserving a portion of their splendid reserve, they have agreed that the Government may sell the remainder for their benefit at public sale by auction, and that after deducting the expenses of the survey and sale, they are to have the remainder.¹² If the Indians located in this territory manage their property rights well, they will become well off, every individual, from the proceeds of their lands. They have possessed themselves of the finest part of Kansas under the treaties which provided for their removal.

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PART IV

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Baptist Delaware Mission,
Kansas T. June 9, 1859657
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[114]

I left the Shawnee Mission (Friends) yesterday morning and reached here the same evening. I crossed Kansas River at the Delaware Crossing, about twelve miles above its mouth; and was so fortunate in point of time as to be there on Payment Day, which is the annual gala day of the nation. As I had never seen a government payment of Indian annuities I was, of course, very glad that it happened as it did. After spending about four hours as a spectator of this curious scene, I went on to the Mission. Today Mr. Pratt and myself went down again, and spent a few hours, the payment still going on, but so near completed that they expected to finish tonight. We have just returned somewhat fatigued by the ride, as the day is warm. Some account of the payment must be given, although it is one of those scenes which should be seen to be appreciated. The amount paid was universally large, it being no less a sum than \$78,000 to something less than 1000 people all told, men, women and children, and was paid in gold and silver. In January 1858 the Delawares numbered by census 988. At the present June census their number is but 941. These figures were given me by Mr.

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Ford, a merchant of Lawrence, who stops here and is looking after the accounts with the Delawares. I supposed the nation was not diminishing, but rather on the increase.

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291 who speak our language and have the man-
 [191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
 old men and some of the young men had on
 colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
 colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
 [302] thus giving them a low appearance, and I
 saw a few girls with spots of it in their
 cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
 [301] ment in his nose, which covered part of his
 mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
 a wide side projection, ornamented, and
 the breech cloth, over which they wore a
 vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
 coats of calico above named, with head
 bands of bead work over the shoulder and
 meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
 right hand side. As a body I should think
 the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
 • 648 wards in the national treasury at five per
 cent interest. Their regular annuity is
 [657] \$50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
 ments, I understand, and is larger than
 443 usual. There were several stores full of
 goods, and a great many stands out in the
 open air with the protection of canvas. The
 492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
 of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
 [435] 150; the price ranges from \$15 to 50 dol-
 lars, the ordinary being \$22 to \$25. They
 are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
 Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
 and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
 mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
 easier than metal for long journeys, and a
 well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
 rear plate. They are far superior to our
 eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
 to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
 supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
 of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
 reasonable prices, in fact they could not

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[611] tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,²² a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name

[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept distinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

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Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
821 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

[p 55 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
 622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
 623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the
 person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs
 meet in council and perform the ceremony
 of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made
 such by the Head Chief without consulting
 the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced
 as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,

342 they were living in bark houses. Now many
 177 of them are living in frame houses two
 stories and $2\frac{1}{2}$ stories high, some with a
 veranda in front the whole length, and they
 have good barns and outbuildings. Some of

231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
 422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons,
 and all kinds of farming implements. Their
 future prospects are certainly very flattering
 if they push on as they have here. Their

648 women are interfered with a good deal by
 563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
 557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that
 as advancing. It would be so were their hus-
 bands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of \$50,000 per
 annum, the best timbered lands in the state,
 and sufficient of them to give them all large
 farms, there is no reason why they should
 not become both agriculturalists and re-
 spectable citizens of the state. When they

000 become wealthy farmers as some of them
 now are, their children will intermarry re-
 spectably with our white people, and thus
 the children will become respectable and,
 if educated, in the second and third gener-
 ations will become beautiful and attractive.
 This is to be the end of the Indian absorp-
 tion of a small portion, which will improve
 and toughen our race, and the residue run
 out or forced into the regions of the moun-
 tains.

Shawnee NN17

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11. By treaty in 1854, the Shawnees surrendered 1,600,000 acres of land to the government and received "one-eighth of it back for distribution among the tribe . . . Voluntary allotment in severalty was a prominent feature of the treaty, and the division of the diminished reserve was to be made upon the basis of 200 acres for every individual . . . In the winter of 1856-57, Lot Coffman, a surveyor, was appointed by the federal government to take a census of the Shawnees and to distribute the land in accordance therewith" (Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title," in *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society*, 1903-04, VIII, 93).

000 12. See *ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

[p 209 (A)]

[pp 205-208 not processed]

000 81. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the assistance of William Adams, "a young Delaware, educated at Delaware Mission in Kansas," in obtaining the kinship system of the Delawares.

121 82. Morgan was much interested in the method of bestowing names upon individuals in Indian society. Upon his return from this trip he read a paper, "Indian Mode of Bestowing Names," at the 13th meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Springfield, Massachusetts, in August; it was published in the *Proceedings*, pp. 340-43. It seems probable that he suspected that he might find here a distinctive characteristic of Indian culture—as he apparently regarded the custom of sleeping nude and wearing the breechcloth, frequently mentioned in *Systems*—that could be used for purposes of historical reconstruction.

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000 83. Charles Johnny Cake (or Journeycake, as he signed his name, as a representative of the Delawares, to agreements with the United States in 1854) was a chief and prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas. He was baptized in 1833, and later became "the

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most noted Baptist preacher" among the Delawares. Charles' brother, Isaac Journeycake, was quite prominent, also. One of Charles Journeycake's daughters, Nannie, married the eldest son of Mr. Pratt, Lucius, in the spring of 1860: "the bride was dressed in white muslin, with veil and orange blossoms, and looked very pretty" (Clara Gowing, "Life Among the Delaware Indians," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, 1911-12, XII, 186-87; *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 14, 1892).

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In *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1894) there are three pictures dealing with Journeycake: (1) a portrait of him alone, 1890 and (2) a photograph of his residence, 1890 (both following p. 296), and (3) photograph of Journeycake with a delegation of Indians in Washington in 1867 (following p. 298).

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There were many Ketchums among the Indians, not only among the Delawares, from 1830 to 1880 or later. "Captain" Ketchum is listed as a signatory of agreements with white organizations in 1832, 1843, and 1844 (*Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IX, 204; *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 755, 761). John Ketchum, Que-sha-to-wha, along with Charles Journeycake and other Delawares signed an agreement with Commissioner George W. Mannypenny in 1854, ceding lands. A James Ketchum was a member of the delegation of Delawares—which included Charles Journeycake and Agent Pratt, also—that went to Washington in 1867; he appears in the group picture mentioned in the previous footnote. In April, 1860, Mr. Pratt and a teacher at the mission drove out "to see chief Ketchum, who was sick." The teacher has left us a vivid picture of Ketchum's residence (Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 188).

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85. From Algonquian Mingwe, "stealthy, treacherous." Used also by whites during the late

NM9 Iroquois NM9
 Delaware NM7
 Miami NP9

SYMPOSIUM ON IROQUOIS CULTURE

[B. A. E. Bull. 149]

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● *F* When
 ● *M* the Delaware tried to exact "blood money" from the Miami to "cover
 423 the bones" of several of their people who had been murdered by the
 574 Miami, they were reminded firmly that they had been allowed to
 ● 648 keep the money for the sales of Miami lands and that this should
 563 suffice. Joseph Richardville speaking for the Miami stated:
 [682]

Grand Fathers: You must recollect when you passed over the great mountains, & came to our country, that you were poor and destitute; you placed yourselves under our protection; we gave you lands, & at the Treaty of St. Mary's you sat in council with us. These we considered enough to satisfy you for all the injury our bad young men had done you; but it appears otherwise, for you continue to beg for more notwithstanding all that has been told to you by our old chief who now lies sick in his wigwam. [Tipton, 1942, p. 764.]

When it was politic, the Iroquois assumed responsibility for their "dependents" to the point of pressing their claims. Thus Canassatego speaking to Representatives of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Lancaster on July 2, 1744, pressed the case of the Canoy who had been defrauded by the Whites (Lowrie and Clarke, 1832-34, vol. 1, pp. 724-725).

On July 1, 1740, the Iroquois Assuchquay spoke for the Canoy as follows:

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 [694] As we were coming here the Canoy Indians gave us this string of Wampom, thereby putting their case into our Hands, which we undertook to Speak to. It seems when the Proprietories bought the Land between Delaware and Susquehanna from us, the Tract, as they told us, on which the Canoy Town stood was reserv'd out of the Grant on account of those Indians living there, & when they should quit it they were to have a Consideration paid them for it. This we think they are entitled to, as they have left the Land & Live among other Nations at Juniata; and as they tell us that they never receiv'd anything for their Land, we recommend it to you to see them paid. [Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 390.]

And when it suited their purposes, dependents were allowed to share the presents. There is on record an actual agreement between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania dated January 1, 1789, which contains a clause noting that, "Two Munsays signed as being residents on the land, but not owners" (Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 512).

I
 423 In the foregoing, we have described how the League functioned
 648 for its tenants, dependents, guests, and colonists. When the League
 563 began to sell the land from under dependent peoples, friction developed which was not to be resolved by the dictates of Onondaga. The attempt of the League authorities to prevent the Iroquois on the Ohio from receiving "presents from the Governor of Virginia" by labeling them "Hunters and no Counselors or Chief Men" (ibid., p. 478) convinced neither the Governor of Virginia nor the Indian frontiersmen of the League's power to enforce its decision. Likewise the state-

The new and alien philosophy, however, soon spread to the neighbors of the Iroquois and caused these onetime "subjects" to adopt the white man's vehicles and guarantees of ownership. The sorry experience of the Delaware beginning with the Walking Purchase induced them to demand a guarantee of title: I
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The Land which we now inhabit was granted by the Miamies and Potawatomes which they have renewed last September in great council held at Fort Wayne in the presence of Captain Wells and the commanding officer of the Fort.

They granted to us to occupy and possess said land for the benefit of our tribes & their prosperity. But prohibited the right of selling the same. But took us in as joint owners of Said Land or Country—lest the grant should in future day fall into the hands of the white people, wherefore they gave us no writing at the time this took place. But for security they gave us Wampum instead of a written Deed. Our chiefs are doubtful with regard of such pledges—and indeed experience ought to teach us the weakness of such a measure. By observation the population of the United States, it appears to us that all Indian claims will be extinguished by the white people before long. The Land in which we wish to dwell all our days will inevitably be sold from under the feet of our poor children after us. In that case what will become of them . . . They will be compelled to dispossess once more. We dread that evil very much in spite of the pledges of Wampum which was given to us.

The chiefs went on to ask for "assistance" as they and their people (the Delaware) were "poor and have no sure habitation." They pointed out that they now found themselves in the "same situation as the first Whites whom they befriended." They asked for "pity" and a "writing" so that they would not be dispossessed by the Whites, who now claimed almost the "entire country" (Parker, Daniel, n. d.).

The quoted plea of the Delaware summarizes the basic changes in Indian philosophy toward land; it is symbolic of the fears and tensions shared by the Iroquois and all their Indian neighbors. It seems certain that prior to white contact, land was given (though not deeded in our sense), and wampum was used as a promise in perpetuity providing the new owner behaved. I
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The translation of land to a salable economic commodity blurred tribal boundaries. In times prior to the arrival of the Whites, tracts of land were claimed and even occupied by several tribes who seemed to have lived peaceably together. A band which moved from a piece of land and neither occupied it for a number of years nor hunted on it, in fact relinquished its claim. The only recollections of its former residence remained in the folklore. The new and, to the Indian's way of thinking, "artificial" values placed on land by the Whites destroyed these principles. We now find them claiming land long after they moved away. This is also indicative of the fact that all Indian philosophy was foundering in the whirlpool created by the impact of crass materialistic motives against an idealistic and natural ideology. I
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